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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A DISCUSSION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS



by

MEREDITH FRANCES MACKEEN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and
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ABSTRACT

According to the United Nation's definition, community development is a many faceted process which will result in improvements in the economic, social and cultural aspects of life in a community, will involve the local people with the governmental authorities and will contribute to the development of a nation. In attempting to implement such an ill defined and wide ranging process, the community development worker will devise his strategy in accordance with his understanding about the nature of man, the ethos of his community and the purpose of social change.

In the process of plotting his course of action, the community development worker will be defining the community development process. He will decide whether the focal point for meaningful social change is the individual, his community or the nation. He will decide whether the involvement of the citizens in political action is imperative or detrimental to the building up of a community.

In a total community development program, change will take place at all levels of the community, the economic, social, political and individual. The programs examined in this thesis have been unable to affect the total community process due to limitations imposed by a non-coordinated and incomplete program. Only national governments who initiate a general guideline for the development of their country

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have the resources, if they so desire, to provide programs so that the individuals can receive the personal attention they deserve, at the same time provide economic and social opportunities and simultaneously involve the local residents so that they can contribute to the building of their nation.

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PREAMBLE

Many panaceas have been proposed for the present ills of society. One tradition based in Marxist schools of thought foresees the betterment of society through the struggle for socialism and in the process the destruction of capitalism.¹ Another school of thought represented by educators like John Dewey proposes the reform of society through an education system which prepares the students to play their role in a democratic society.² Psychologists like Fromm,³ Maslow,⁴ and Carl Rogers⁵ suggest that when men are true to themselves and are aware of the feelings of other people, present strife will end. Other writers such as Toffler,⁶ and McLuhan,⁷ foresee a new computer or electronic age as the pivotal point in bringing about a new society. Other reform politicians, such as the newly elected mayors in Vancouver and Toronto, emphasize the need for people participation in making crucial decisions about the future of their city.

A concept which can combine all these features is community development. Some projects under the title of community development focus around economic change, either by introducing new industries into an area, or by fostering cooperatives or by modernizing production techniques. Others concentrate on social and individual betterment by fostering citizen participation, initiative and community leadership.

Some programs work from the standpoint of educating the residents and providing them with information so that they will undertake projects to improve their community. Some groups desirous of change seek to bring about improvements through the development of a political party.

In different social, cultural, political and economic environments, diverse solutions to promoting social change have been called community development. One definition which attempts to include the variety of possible processes entitled community development is that of the United Nation's:

Community development is the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of the governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of the community, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to the national progress.⁸

The United Nation's definition brings attention to the following aspects of community development: (1) improvements in the quality of life and in the economic opportunities available in a community, (2) involvement of the residents with the government authorities in implementing the plan and (3) the integration of the community into the life of the nation. Other theoreticians concentrate on the personal changes that the individual undergoes as he becomes a part of the community development process. Glen Leet defines this process as follows:

Community development is essentially human development. In the field of community development, the goal is to

create an atmosphere in which people can express their inherent right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness unfettered by the chains of hunger, poverty and ignorance. The attainment of the goal must start with the basic need of the human soul to express, grow and build a life that will fulfill its dreams. He needs only the stimulus of understanding, knowledge that others recognize his individuality, and respect it, and the guidance that will evoke his latent ability to achieve his goal.⁹

These two definitions indicate different levels of community development. A complete program will affect the life styles of the individuals involved and at the same time change the relationship between the community and the nation. For example, programs designed to revamp the economic development of an area will need to educate the residents about their new roles in society. Similarly, programs catering to the psychological needs of the residents will consider at the same time the employment, housing and clothing requirements.

The United Nation's definition of community development indicates that the process is wide ranging and integrates many aspects of community life. In Canada, the projects using the community development process have not been broad enough and their one sided approach limits the scope of the program. In the course of this thesis, I propose to examine different types of approaches bearing the title of community development. The first example is that of a program of economic development which has concentrated largely on industrial growth, perhaps to the detriment of social development. The second is a study of programs which

concentrate on personal growth but which lack means of reinforcing these changes with new work opportunities. The last example is that of a political party which attempts an integrated approach to changing the environment.

Such a variety of projects all using the term community development indicates how general the concept is. In the process of implementing a community development program, many questions arise about its general nature. For example, is the main purpose of such a project to (a) improve the human relations among the people of a community or (b) to introduce material changes such as a new school or a cooperative in a community or (c) to tackle nation wide problems which do affect the quality of life of the small communities. Secondly, can meaningful social change be introduced without political action? According to the United Nation's definition, the community development process will change the relationships among individuals in a community, will introduce tangible results in a small community and will tackle nation wide problems. No mention of political action to bring about these changes is made.

However, none of the programs examined in this thesis have been able to incorporate all the levels of community development process. The problems that the different projects encounter indicate the difficulties involved in evolving a total program. Through an examination of the common limitations and strengths, perhaps we can advance a greater understanding of the theory of community development.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER 1

DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

When two ordinary words, such as community and development, are combined to refer to a process called community development, a very ill defined concept emerges, as will be noted by the variety of definitions quoted throughout this thesis. In order to obtain a general understanding of community development, I shall first examine the two words, community and development, separately and then discuss in a general way different strategies all bearing the name community development.

The term 'community' concerns things held in common. Some of these 'things' may be tangible objects such as the common property of a family or the common pasture lands held by a tribal community. Others are less tangible: common ideas, beliefs, and values, common customs and norms held by all and finally, a common or joint action of the community as a whole. Furthermore, when we speak of a community we ordinarily mean a set of people who have not just one element in common but many.¹

The word "development" means a gradual unfolding and a growth to a more elaborate form. Notions of change and progress are inherent in the word "development".² In order to evaluate which changes develop or advance the society and which detain its progress, one has to delve into the question of what goodness is and what the goals of a society should be.

Some programs have interpreted the concept community

development to mean focusing on the personal needs of individuals in a community, concluding that promoting the mental health of the individual residents will improve the quality of life in the community.³ Others examine specific and concrete requirements in one community and set about to satisfy these needs to improve the community. They suggest that the basis of social change is the community.⁴ Lastly, other programs work from the premise that an improvement in the quality of life for residents in a community is possible only with national or international action.⁵

Writers like Mial support the effort to develop a universal definition of community development to mean a precise program and process.⁶ Others, like Biddle, are willing to accept any project which calls itself community development.⁷ Since the decision to determine what is development of people and their communities is subject to personal judgement, I have accepted a wide range of definitions which purport to improve the condition of people living in a community. Nevertheless, as a means of establishing broad guidelines for the concept, community development, I have adopted the United Nation's definition. This definition contains within its scope other definitions quoted in this thesis.

Before an evaluation of strategies to improve the condition of residents and their community is possible, one needs to resolve such questions as, what is man and what is

his role in the development of society? Such matters are thesis topics in themselves and are answered over and over again by individuals as they become involved in social change. In spite of the difficulty of coming to terms adequately with such topics, the answers to such questions vitally affect the whole community development process. One's evaluation of the most appropriate emphasis for the community development program is a reflection of one's perspective on these issues.

Development

The term "development" covers two fundamental aspects of man's historical changes, one being technological advancement and the other spiritual or ethical or intellectual growth. Historically, changes in civilizations as a result of technological advancement are more easily traced than those brought about by perceptual or intellectual developments. Community development programs try to include both aspects of change.

Programs designed to develop the economic sector of a community's life are based on the hope that other types of change in the social and cultural life of the community will follow economic development. These programs can be analyzed as an attempt to emulate the kinds of changes that came about in a less planned fashion in other communities. A diversity of opinions exist about the best strategy to bring about economic development. Some choose to build up the economic base of a community through capitalism and others through socialism.

Currently many writers have tried to analyze the affect of these technological changes on our society. Writers like Reich talk about the dawning of conscience¹¹ whereby the new generation will be able to counter-balance the dehumanization and alienation that size has created in the past with a new concern for satisfying individuals' needs.⁸ Others like McLuhan⁹ and Toffler¹⁰ predict that the electric speed-up in industry will create an intense sensitivity to and interrelation with the whole globe.

Undoubtedly technological changes do affect the outlook of society. At other times in history the developments in society can be traced directly to a new understanding about possible relationships among men. For example, leaders like Jesus, Buddha, Mohammed, have inspired, by the power of their message, people to undertake tremendous tasks. A more recent example of the power of ideas comes from Algeria. As the Algerians realized that the colonizer was not omnipotent, they were freed from fears that had kept them subordinated to the French and now were willing to fight for the independence of their country. Community development programs designed to humanize the environment concentrate on the psychological changes that the residents undergo.¹¹

Change

Inherent in any discussion of community development is the idea of change, be it economic or technological or social or political or psychological or any combination of

these. Community development theoreticians welcome change but disagree about the kind of change most beneficial for a community. If one is working to build a communist society, then changes which advance the position of the proletariat over that of the bourgeoisie are the only significant ones, and all else is merely reform of the present system. On the other hand, if one wants to humanize the environment, changes which increase the personal consideration an individual receives are important. Or if one seeks basic changes in terms of revamping the economic base of a community, then change is measured according to decreases in the unemployment or increases in the gross national product.

When those involved in promoting social change have determined the kind of change that is significant to the development of the society they wish to build, the question becomes: how does one foster such change? Are changes in society initiated by individuals who have analyzed society and their own roles and now are organizing to change offensive aspects? Or are changes brought about by drastic changes in the environment that affect the individual to such an extent that his whole life style is altered? If the former is an accurate interpretation of events, then a community development worker attempts to help individuals sort out their own problems so that eventually they are strong enough to tackle the wrongs of society. If the

latter seems more applicable, then the community development worker focuses on introducing a better environment with new sets of opportunities, such as employment, housing and education. The other more general aspect in discussing change deals with how inclusive the process must be before it can be effective. Will a collection of piecemeal reforms gradually develop into a new society, or will only the overthrow of the present social structure bring about basic alterations in the lives of the citizens? Lastly, must social change be lead by political action in order to be effective?

Attempts to grapple with these questions may be enhanced by glancing at two different perspectives about the nature of change. Warren claims that in the process of promoting social change, community development workers ultimately adopt a "love line" or "truth line." He defines a "love line" as a "commitment to the infinite value of each human being" and a "truth line" as believing "somehow we represent the fundamental order of things in calling for changes that we propose to bring in the social order." He writes that the two approaches to change are irreconcilable.¹² In this thesis, the social development programs adopt Warren's "love line" strategy while, the economic and political development programs pursue the "truth lines."

In contrast, an analysis of change by Hegel would reveal that the dichotomy is not between truth and love.

Instead Hegel would see love and truth as thesis and antithesis within the synthesis, change. Therefore, truth and love would be a part of the whole dialectic of change. "To take one of these terms (opposites) by itself comes to the same thing as to take the other by itself, for the one has meaning only in and through the other".¹³ Therefore, "unity has not opposition to it, but holds it within itself and that without opposition, reality would not be reality because it would not be development and life".¹⁴

The important aspect of this discussion of change for community development workers is to understand the relationship of the different components or in Hegel's terms the opposites to the whole. If this relationship can be assessed, then the worker will know where to place his emphasis in order to enhance change. Mao Tse Tung states that we must disrupt this equilibrium in order to understand it.

If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself. If you want to know the structure and properties of an atom, you must make physical and chemical experiments to change the state of the atom. If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution.¹⁵

The emphasis in this excerpt is that knowledge is an individual pursuit and cannot be acquired passively.

According to two individuals who have written about their experiences in social change, the dissecting process to determine the relationship between opposites which compose

the present status quo is painful. Conflict and struggle are an inherent part of social change. Alinsky expressed his sentiments this way:

Change means movement. Movement means friction. Only in the frictionless vacuum of a non-existent abstract world can movement or change occur without that abrasive friction of conflict.¹⁶

A more poetic way of expressing the same idea was written by Frederick Douglass, a black journalist of the mid twentieth century America:

If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those men who profess to freedom and yet depreciate agitation are men who want crops without plowing. They want rain without thunder and lightening. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its mighty waters. This struggle may be a moral one or it may be physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will.¹⁷

Conflict

Community development programs generally seem to have an ambivalent position about the role of struggle in implementing plans. Community development programs focusing on economic development claim to benefit all members of the community equally and therefore tackle nation wide problems. For example, while the United Nation's programs discuss a fight against pollution and a war on poverty, at the same time they emphasize building up the prosperity and peacefulness of a country.¹⁸ They do not advocate destroying corrupt regimes which may be denying prosperity and true peace to the citizens. Similarly programs designed to humanize the environment want to avoid conflict. The

advocates of these projects are concerned that the means to gain an end should be the end in process. Thus if one is trying to build an honest society where individuals are respected, then at no point in the struggle for that society should one engage in deceitful tactics, even if the present environment harbours many dishonest people.

This generally vague stance toward struggle in many community development projects has lead Charles J. Erasmus to define community development as "a pacifier in the hopes of avoiding disagreeable agitation".¹⁹ The validity of the statement seems confirmed when Richard Franklin describes community development as a bulwark against communism abroad.²⁰ Much of the American foreign policy has been suspect for its attempt to subdue anti-American sentiments among residents of various "under-developed countries." The programs have not reformed the economic and social opportunities available for the peasants. In Canada, as well, some community development projects can be criticized for their effort to deceive the public about the true intent of the program. Dale Martin, a former project officer for Opportunities for Youth, mentions the unlikelihood that Opportunities for Youth Programs will bring about true change:

The emphasis of the Opportunities for Youth Program has shifted from more selfish projects such as travelling and drama groups to projects aimed at community development.

The aim of the program is to defuse a potentially violent group of middle class unemployed

But most of these projects are doomed to fail. It's like 1965 and the Company of Young Canadians all over again. If the projects work, they embarrass the government and it has to cut them off.²¹

Part of the argument that community development is basically a tool to maintain the present status quo while it may smooth some of the rough edges is based on the perceived interests of some of the financiers of the programs. Governments subject to the pressure of private enterprise and foundations such as Ford and Rockefeller are concerned to maintain their present position of power. If one categorizes as vested interests or oppressors the government and multi-national corporations, as does Freire, then the most that one can expect is reform in terms of changing people's perception of reality. Freire writes:

The interests of the oppressors lie in changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppressed them. For the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated."²²

According to Erasmus, such an approach to community development is widespread in Latin America, and he therefore concludes that community development has become a successful international movement by providing both foreign personnel and new elites with a strategy for maximizing certain system-maintaining proclivities. However, as a community movement, community development has failed. The community development workers have concentrated on the most dejected groups of

society who are grateful for any small handouts that the present regime may give and who are afraid to advance beyond a relatively pleasant dependency relationship with the present government. In contrast, more energetic groups have achieved political and economic emancipation from corrupt regimes without the help of the community development workers. Through their independent action, these groups underline the ineffectiveness of the community development programs.²³

Questions

Erasmus' experience raises the question about the kind of leadership and citizen participation that is effective within a community development program. Many community development programs have been initiated by individuals living outside a particular situation which they consider to be detrimental to the development of a healthy population. Thus the outsiders design a program to improve present conditions and enter the community. This procedure of entering a community to change some aspects raises this issue: upon whose request does a community development team undertake to alter certain conditions in a community?

According to Erasmus, community development projects in Latin America enter a community at the request of the government and as mentioned above concentrate on the poorest members of the community. He suggests that this strategy is most unlikely to advance the community and implies that true community development programs should consider offering

assistance that will be of value to groups that are likely to succeed.

Apart from deciding how to enter a community, the community development workers must determine who will undertake the leadership role in establishing a program. Does the outsider who has been requested to launch a community development program in the community by the government, advance only as he gains the approval of a majority of citizens? Or does he work from the premise that in the future after the changes have been imposed successfully, the members of the community will appreciate the progress and actively support future community development programs? Or does he decide to inform the citizens about alternative life styles and methods of attaining them and then to leave the residents to sort out their own course of action?

The issue underlying the question of leadership is whether the residents are likely to change their situation without outside help. If it seems unlikely that they will, then how does one combine their fulfilling their felt needs with the community development process? What kinds of changes should be promoted that will improve their standards of living without denying their identity and life styles? When does an individual's choice of an independent life style deprive him of state benefits and who decides when he will have to comply with the rest of society in order to receive

these benefits?

No golden rules of action for the community development process exist, since so many different situations and priorities affect the nature of the program. A variety of projects are established to suit different aims and purposes. Some community development programs have changed during their short history, the attitudes of their participants about their own potential and the possibility of changing specific conditions. Other programs have a dubious history open to suspicion for attempts to exploit the local citizens.

I cannot purport to answer in any conclusive manner the profound and often-asked questions about the nature of social change and community development. Through an examination of economic development based programs such as those supported by the Department of Regional Economic Expansion; social development programs as proposed by the Edmonton Social Planning Council, West Ten Pilot Project, Preventative Social Services and Company of Young Canadians; and political development programs such as the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation from 1944-64 in Saskatchewan, some of the intricacies of the process of community development become evident.

While the projects to be reviewed in this thesis were unable to improve concomitantly economic, social and cultural aspects of community life, the successful community

development process demands advancement at each level of social change. While I have not presented a new and comprehensive definition of community development, nor a foolproof strategy for "perfect" community development programs, in the course of this thesis I have attempted to explore some of the questions at the crux of the community development process. The questions are: 1) Is social change feasible with or without political action? 2) Can the quality of life for an individual be improved most effectively by a one to one orientation, a community-wide program or national action? By reviewing the different aspects of the community development program, one may gain insight into the ill defined and complicated concept, community development.

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CHAPTER 2

ECONOMIC ASPECT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

In Canada the Federal and Provincial Governments have undertaken to improve the economic base of many regions throughout the country. Presently under programs supported by the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE), private enterprise is enticed by incentive grants to locate in certain regions and the Governments provide programs of adjustment and training for the residents and the necessary infrastructure for the town sites. While the prime objective of these programs is to increase the income and employment opportunities of the residents, these programs have been called community development projects, and have included to a limited extent the social needs of the residents of the area that is to be developed.

Using the United Nation's definition of community development as a guideline, the main aspects of these economic development programs will be reviewed. The DREE programs are specifically designed to improve the economic conditions "so that the community can be integrated into the life of the nation and can contribute fully to the national progress."¹ In examining the practical aspect of the DREE programs, it seems that these general phrases are interpreted

to mean that a resident of a slow economic growth area should have the same standard of living as a resident of a more prosperous sector. The DREE programs have chosen to accomplish this goal by increasing the productivity of the area by the introduction of new privately owned industries. Since the economic aspect of this community development program is dependent on the agreements between the governments' and private enterprise, the "efforts of the people" are limited to changing their life style as a result of new employment opportunities. As will be reviewed at the end of this thesis, other means of improving the standard of living whereby the residents could have an active role should be investigated, if these programs for economic development are to implement the community development process.

The social aspect of these community development programs seems to be explained in terms of the alternative life styles available as residents become employed. New industries provide employment in large numbers during the construction phases and later in stable numbers during the plants' operation. If one plant proves economically viable, other industries may be attracted and with a general increase in population, more work will emerge both in the new factories and in the service industries. Gradually the whole ethos of a community will change from that of many welfare recipients to that of many employed individuals. New conditions of high employment may develop into new pride

so that the residents of the community will organize to improve the social and cultural conditions of their area.

The importance of work in building a man's character has been studied by Fromm,² and Parsons.³ Fromm suggests that if man's need to express himself creatively through work is not satisfied, then he cannot concentrate effectively on other aspects of life. His work must be stimulating so that he can become more aware of himself and his world and so that he will want to become involved in social and cultural projects. Once his basic needs for shelter, food and clothing have been fulfilled, he can extend into Maslow's hierarchy of needs.⁴ Both Parsons and Marx,⁵ find that work is so basic to the formation of one's outlook on life, that by analyzing a man's work, one can predict fairly accurately the attitude of men employed in different types of work.

The prominent theorists of the development of organizations such as Drucker,⁶ Blau,⁷ and Herzberg⁸ have concentrated on the relationship between the working conditions and the quality of product. Few studies, to my knowledge, have been undertaken to determine the type of work that refurbishes man's creativity and to determine how to incorporate such work into a factory. The type of employment provided by the DREE sponsored industries is not geared to enhance man's self-expression, although the working conditions may be pleasant. The main instrument for evaluating the success of economic development projects is the efficiency

of the operation. For example, how well are the profits maximized? By how much did the productivity of the area increase? The answers to these questions are available in quantifiable terms.

A problem inherent in community development programs which focus on economic development through private enterprise is the fact that the introduction of industry does not necessarily cure social ills. As mentioned above, the social and cultural consequences of new industries in a community are not the prime concern of private enterprise. Instead, the governments are left to design social development projects to promote the human aspect of community development.

In this section, I shall review some of the problems of community development programs whose basic orientation is the industrialization of a depressed region. The examples are taken from the DREE program which to date has provided subsidies so that some industries can locate in "special" areas of Canada. They will be examined first in terms of their success as economic improvement projects. For example, the rate of unemployment has not decreased on a long term basis in areas where the new industries located. Other aspects of the community life, such as funding for adequate housing, hospital care, schooling facilities, servicing buildings lots, sewage and water requirements, police and fire protection and so on have not received adequate

attention in the DREE plans. The retraining programs have not always lead to new employment opportunities, (e.g., in Bathurst during the Fall of 1972 residents who had hoped to gain employment from DREE programs protested the high rates of unemployment).

The second area of questioning about economic development programs deals with the spirit of the United Nation's definition. Is any kind of industrialization, so long as it increases the productivity of a region, improving the economic conditions of a community? How does an area contribute to the national progress? Is becoming employed and leaving the social assistance rolls really contributing to the nation or are values like good mental health, unpolluted streams and a community spirit more important? These aspects of community development programs are much more subject to value interpretations than are the data collected about employment rates, profits and gross national products. Nonetheless, they are an integral aspect of the community development process since the programs should be designed to improve the human condition.

Department of Regional Economic Expansion

The history of the Canadian Government's attempt to stimulate industrial growth throughout the country may be traced to Confederation and the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Since the Second World War, community development programs have been designed to lessen regional

disparities and to improve the standard of living among the rural citizens. Some of these programs concentrated on upgrading the methods of production for fishermen and farmers and were called the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act, the Maritime Farm Rehabilitation Act, the Agricultural Rehabilitation Development Act which was later changed to Agricultural and Rural Development Act, (ARDA) to include all rural and not just agricultural communities. In April 1969, all the above mentioned programs and others as well were amalgamated under the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, (DREE). The aim of this department is similar to that of the earlier programs but it has expanded its method of increasing rural incomes by adding incentive grants for industries locating in designated areas.

According to Mr. Shields,⁹ the general objectives of the DREE program are similar to those of the Agricultural and Rural Development program which proposed the following role for itself:

The basic objective of ARDA is to increase the rural income and employment opportunities, not by relief measures and governmental subsidies but by improving the management and the use of natural resources and by assisting lower income people either to utilize the resources more profitably or to seek alternative opportunities in the many fields that exist in our dynamic society.¹⁰

Within the limitations of the British North American Act, the Federal and Provincial Governments have established programs in rural depressed areas to alleviate some of the barriers to prosperity. With advances in technology,

traditional small farmers can no longer earn sufficient income and they, therefore, need to improve their farming methods or to find employment off the farm. When ARDA was established to ease the difficulties many farmers faced, it first surveyed all the land in different parts of Canada to determine the best usage, be it for recreation, conservation, forestry or farming. Later based on the data collected, programs were established to reactivate the economy of the region.

In 1965, the Fund for Rural Economic Development (FRED) legislation amended the ARDA act so that the local people could be involved directly in the development of the project. This new thrust toward educating the local residents, organizing citizen boards and holding public meetings, brought the ARDA programs close to the community development process.

However, the specific nature of the ARDA program was poorly defined. According to McCroire, this vagueness is usual in introductory legislation.¹¹ However, Buckley and Tihanti criticize the program as "reflecting the ambiguities in purpose, not entirely resolved to this day." They point out that the desire for facilitating "economic adjustment" did not define the nature of such adjustment, that the desire to increase the income of rural people in general did not take into account the already existing differences in income, that the desire to improve the use of the resources in the

rural areas was expressed as an end in itself and not as a means for furthering social objectives of maintaining rural life.¹²

Again in the DREE program, the vagueness of goals has not been overcome. DREE aims to "facilitate economic expansion and social development in areas requiring special measures to improve opportunities for productive employment and access to those opportunities."¹³ Such expansion has not been directed toward a particular segment of the rural population nor toward cooperatively owned industries. Secondly, the term "economic expansion" is concrete if measured in quantifiable terms, but it may not be compatible with social development.

Generally the DREE strategy follows that established by ARDA; namely, first, to find the key to economic and social disparities, second, to establish priorities and third, to assess suitable plans. At all times the programs hope to involve to "the maximum extent possible the energies and ideas of local people in designing and implementing the plans."¹⁴ However, the practical results of implementing such a program have been widely criticised.

Through the next section, I shall outline the practical details of implementing the DREE program in the Lesser Slave Lake area of Alberta. Through this discussion some of the limitations of community development programs oriented to economic improvements mainly will be brought out.

As noted above, each community development program has to decide about issues such as, the leadership of the program, citizen participation in developing the program and significant changes in the community that will result from the program.¹⁵ The manner in which the designers of community development programs answer these questions is always open to criticism, since different groups have varying priorities for the development of a community.

Lesser Slave Lake

In order to provide a more concrete illustration of the approach and problems presented by community development programs focusing on economic development, I have reviewed the Lesser Slave Lake project whose general format is typical of the DREE programs across the country. The Lesser Slave Lake area, like many other "slow growth" areas of Canada, has experienced many different programs, all geared to reducing the poverty of the region.

During the mid-sixties, community development workers employed by the Human Resource Development Authority, (HRDA) (now defunct), Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, Department of Indian Affairs, Company of Young Canadians, (CYC) and ARDA all began to work with the residents. Both HRDA and ARDA studied in depth the social, economic and cultural conditions of the area. One result of these studies was the formation of common grazing lands, whose development was supervised by ARDA. Other organizations influenced by HRDA

and CYC workers voiced concern about the employment situation and about the future of the region. The Wabasca Marches of July 1966 brought to the attention of parliamentarians and the general public demands for lumber mills in the area. Later the formation of the Wabasca Cooperative, the Kee Wee Tin Nok Northland Association which attempted to coordinate Indian and Metis demands and action in the area of social and economic development, the Sa-ponee (Needle Club Cooperative), the Slave Lake Location Clearing Cooperative, the Kaepegemew Housing Cooperative Ltd., and the Lesser Slave Lake Water Control and Development Association all emerged as indications of citizen concern about the development of the area.¹⁶

According to Mr. R. Adam, the political pressure applied to the politicians by the residents of Lesser Slave Lake area forced the governments to develop an overall program to lessen the economic problems of the area.¹⁷ Mr. N. Gilliat, Coordinator of the HRDA staff cited the public pressure this way, "CYC probably kicked the whole thing off."¹⁸ The suggestion here is that the CYC workers educated the local residents about the possibilities of a better future so that they came to demand that the Governments take action.

In April 1970, both the Provincial Government represented by Mr. R. Speaker, Minister of Social Development, and the Federal Government represented by Mr. J. Marchand, Minister of Regional Economic Expansion, entered into an

agreement designating the Lesser Slave Lake region as a special area. This agreement costing upwards of \$60 million between 1970 and 1975,¹⁹ outlined a program involving both Governments to promote economic expansion and social adjustment in the area. In sum the "Federal Government and the Province of Alberta have signed an agreement which provides funds for priority community development projects in the Lesser Slave Lake area."²⁰

Under this agreement, DREE has undertaken to attract primary, secondary and tertiary industry into the area by various incentive grants. Also DREE will provide loans to the Province for the infrastructure required to make key centres more attractive as cities for future industrial and population growth. HRDA was responsible for developing suitable programs to train residents for the job opportunities resulting from the new industries and to counsel the families as they make the required adjustments to take advantage of these opportunities.

Since the election of the Progressive Conservative Government in August 1972, the new government has not rejected the overall plan but it has not proceeded along the continuum of development as first agreed upon. This delay is caused by a conflict over the administrative power between the Federal and Provincial Governments. Mr. Neil Crawford, Minister of Health and Social Development, is quoted as follows on the subject: "The Provincial Government dislikes

cost sharing programs with Ottawa. Alberta would prefer a tax credit system and to administer on its own the total program."²¹

This disagreement arising from the joint administration has meant a delay in the training program while the rate of attracting new industries has progressed as scheduled. If the local residents are not adequately prepared for the job opportunities, the companies will hire trained personnel from outside the area. In the past, this practice of importing skilled labour has meant that the local residents do not benefit in terms of new employment opportunities from the vast expenditure. Mr. J. DuCharme, President of the Metis Association, speculated that these delays in the training programs are causing hardship which could lead to violence.²²

In review, the DREE program in the Lesser Slave Lake area is a cost sharing agreement between the Federal and Provincial Governments. The Federal Government is responsible for attracting industry into the area, and the Provincial Government is responsible for preparing the residents for the new opportunities. While the impetus to start some kind of economic improvement in the area may have come from grass roots demand, the development of the plan was arranged by civil servants, politicians and businessmen.

PROBLEM DEFINITION

As suggested in the first section, a definition of the problem and the strategy that emerges are a reflection

of the vision and desires of those seeking to change the area. In this section, a general review of the aims of the Federal Government might prove helpful. However, when one tries to investigate the overall goals, many confusing and often contradictory messages can be found. The following quote from Mr. P. Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, might prove enlightening in analyzing the government's intent for the DREE program:

If the underdevelopment of the Atlantic provinces is not corrected, not by charity or subsidies, but by helping them to become areas of economic growth, the unity of the country is almost as surely destroyed as it would be by the French English confrontation.²³

According to Mathias, one way of promoting the unity of the country is to provide similar opportunities from coast to coast. With the advent of industries throughout Canada, all Canadians, living in any region, would have the same kinds of experiences as those presently living in industrialized centres. Mathias suggests that such similarities would promote a feeling of Canadian identity, a nationalism that the Federal Government has tried to foster.²⁴ However, such an industrial experience would seem to be the same everywhere in the world, since technological development tends to reduce historical differences between areas and emphasizes the similarities between all technologically advanced countries. Such an identity might be with international corporations and industrialization but not necessarily with Canada.

From this speculative introduction about possible reasons behind the Federal Government's interest in regional development, one can turn to their explanation for poverty in rural areas. Rural areas where the per capita income is lower than in other areas of Canada have been studied often.²⁵ Most reports indicate that the underemployment of both the human and the physical resources has led to poverty. Such poverty has meant that those who feel that they have a better chance elsewhere leave the region. With the resulting smaller population a vicious circle begins: potential industries have more difficulty recruiting trained labour and as a result may not establish in a depressed region; service industries reach a smaller market and may have to close; social costs increase with fewer tax dollars available and the quality of service declines; as more people leave the region, the proportion of poor among the population increases.

Furthermore, in many areas where once individuals could eke out a small income through farming or fishing or trapping, the rise of both operating and marketing costs has made self-employment unprofitable. Besides, with new uses for land, for example airports, and roadways, prices of land and their tax value have become so high that small farming operations are not feasible. As a consequence the resources are left underexploited and the residents without employment.

The DREE programs focus on this underdevelopment of both the physical and human resources. For example, the Lesser Slave Lake area has beautiful beaches, which could become a tourist attraction and provide employment in the service industries. Other sources of potential employment could be found from exploiting the oil, the good farm land and possibly some trapping. Yet inspite of this potential, half of the labour force of 7,000 are unemployed.²⁶

DREE explains this contradiction between the potential and the reality as follows: "Among the major problems facing the slow-growing regions of Canada has been the lack of opportunity for people to obtain productive work."²⁷ The Federal Government has decided to create these opportunities by providing incentive grants to industries that will invest in slow growth regions. In addition, where the world market prices have become too low to provide sufficient income for families engaged in industries like fishing and wheat farming, the Federal Government has used subsidies to maintain an acceptable level of income. At the same time, people engaged in such industries are encouraged to modernize and rationalize their production.

When Mr. Maurice Sauve, Minister of Forestry and Rural Development, was in charge of ARDA he summarized the problem that confronted his department this way:

How is it then, that those people are reduced to almost total helplessness in a society which is well organized and generally effective? . . . Why are so

many people in rural areas living in poverty? I do not think that it is because of character deficiencies, or lack of personal initiative. It is rather due to the lack of rational and organized way of dealing with the present situation in rural areas. It would be tragic however, if Canada acted too late and did too little to really succeed in bringing a higher standard of living to the rural population If we, that is all other Canadians walk the other way feeling that it is not our responsibility to organize our society in order to serve the have-nots among us, our lack of interest will have repercussions on the vitality of our society. If we cannot do it, what can we really expect?28

STRATEGY

The DREE programs attempt to rehabilitate the "slow growth" areas into the mainstream of economic growth as found in other parts of Canada. Although attention is paid to both the economic and social aspects of the underdevelopment, the largest investment, in monetary terms, is for rationalizing the economy.

In developing a suitable strategy, extensive studies of the land use are made to determine its best utilization. In the Lesser Slave Lake area, ARDA has sponsored projects to improve farming by controlling floods on the west end of the lake, building up the soil and encouraging common grazing pastures. Generally in other parts of Canada, if an individual farmer wishes to make his farm viable and has that possibility in ARDA's assesement, he is encouraged to modernize and expand his operation with the assistance of agricultural experts and federal loans.

If, instead of farm development, the survey indicates

that the region or a particular town would benefit most from industrial growth, DREE programs work to attract new enterprises to the area. The Federal Government invests in requirements such as adequate transportation routes both within the town and to other towns, schools, adequate sewage and water treatment plants for the predicted growth of the town. In the Lesser Slave Lake area, the town of Lesser Slave Lake was chosen as the industrial centre and accordingly a highway to Vermillion, an industrial park called Mitsue Lake, and a school for three hundred elementary students have been built.

In both the agricultural and economic sectors, the DREE programs make provisions for education and counselling in an attempt to help the residents adapt to a changing industrial society. Programs of on-the-job-training or vocational training centres such as Wabasca and Joussard are important if the DREE programs are to accomplish their goals. According to Lindblad, as a result of these programs to upgrade potential workers, few of the employable people in Lesser Slave Lake area are now on social assistance.²⁹

The other aspect of the community development program deals with the involvement of the local people. To the extent that the residents answered the questionnaires and partook of the job or educational opportunities, many of the residents were involved in the DREE project. However, most of the surveys and the development of the plan required a

level of technical skill and education that many of the residents do not possess. Within the DREE program, as will be discussed in more detail later, there exists no structure by which the local people can become involved in the administration or organization of the development plan.

The strategy of the DREE program has focused on efficient ways to promote economic development in an area. Surveys are made of the region to help determine the best course of action to raise the standard of living of the residents. As will be discussed below, such policies have had many short comings both in terms of the quantity of economic development promoted and secondly of the improvements in the social and cultural conditions of the community.

EVALUATION

Lack of Measures

An important aspect of developing a theory of community development practice is the evaluation of a project. A manner of measuring the success and failures of the program should be determined before the program is implemented so that evaluators can predict the probable difficulties as the project evolves. If a project has no means for an evaluation while it evolves and as it matures, then one has no factual way by which to estimate the real progress of the project. Instead, one may find at the completion date, the program has failed. While rumors may circulate about the weakness

of certain aspects of the DREE plan, no built-in mechanism is present to evaluate the progress of the program. If effective mechanisms for evaluation are a part of the plan, then periodically the program could be revamped to suit changing or unforeseen conditions.

The DREE programs can evaluate their success only at the completion date. Their criteria for measuring the project are first, the management of the plan in terms of cost, accomplishments and schedules assessed by objective performance indicators and second, the economic impact of the plan in the area to determine if the broad objectives were attained. While mention is made of the importance of appraising the social affect of such a program, the difficulty of such an evaluation is noted and no measures are suggested.³⁰

The gauge proposed by DREE cannot be made adequately until the total plan is accomplished. Furthermore, they do not touch issues suggested in the introduction that are of importance to community development practice. Thus I shall return to the themes mentioned in the United Nation's definition, as indicators of a successful project, and thereby measure economic development through private enterprise as found in the example of Lesser Slave Lake. How much local involvement is encouraged? How are the residents integrated into the life of the nation? What improvements

in the local economic, social and cultural life result from the project?

Local Involvement

To answer the first question, how much local involvement is encouraged one can review the history of the Lesser Slave Lake program. As indicated earlier, the idea of a plan to improve the economy of the area was in response to the demands of the residents.³¹ Nonetheless, the concrete plans originated in the offices of civil servants, politicians and businessmen. Following the initial protests, no widespread and organized effort has occurred to affect the content of the DREE plan.

In contrast with ARDA projects in other provinces, Alberta and New Brunswick did build a tradition of community involvement. However, the degree of participation in rural development projects in both these provinces is deceptive for it "obscures if only for a moment the formidable barrier that exists between the rural poor and the ARDA programming".³²

In the Bureau d'Amenagement de l'est du Quebec project, the leadership was largely middle class. Seventy percent of the active membership had an income of over five thousand dollars and less than ten percent had an income of three thousand dollars to five thousand dollars. These people had minimal communication with the rest of the population.³³ Similarly in Alberta, Mr. R. Adam agrees that

DREE projects "appeal most to those who need it least".³⁴

While Nichols suggests that the lack of publicity explains the reason for limited involvement from the poor of a region, reaching the public as a whole has proved difficult.³⁵

The amount of publicity may not be as important as the popular attitude toward certain programs. Vrooman suggests that many people believe that they have no power and therefore are not willing to risk any initiative in changing development plans:

As more and more groups of citizens, young and old, test the extent of their power and influence in determining public policy, they become painfully aware of the great distance between them and the decision makers. The feeling of helplessness and loss of control over decisions affecting the environment and societal process is no longer limited to the urban poor. It is finally beginning to pervade public consciousness across the whole country.³⁶

At times Vrooman seems accurate in his analysis of public opinion when attendance at public meetings is small and when few residents take initiative in changing their environment.

Neither citizen participation nor support is required before a DREE project is initiated. The areas eligible for such grants are determined by the Federal and Provincial Governments according to factors such as income per family and per individual, unemployment rates, levels of education, records of social assistance and recognized development potential. Neither local citizens' groups nor municipal governments can negotiate directly with the Federal Government for a DREE program, and thus they are limited to

applying pressure on the politicians.

According to the Fund for Rural Economic Development Amendment to the ARDA legislation, discussed above, the local citizens can force the governments to reconsider the plan by voicing their dissent with the DREE and FRED legislation.

Since the ARDA legislation formed the basis of DREE legislation and since FRED was a part of ARDA, one might wonder if DREE would have similar stipulations.³⁷

However, the DREE legislation has no similar provisions for local consent. On a different level, many methods of protest such as indifference or sabotage could be used by an organized group within the community to gain control of such a program.

Integration

The second question deals with the citizens' integration into the life of the nation. Integration implies becoming part of the general trend witnessed across Canada. One common procedure is the coordination between the various levels of government and organizations which all work in the same area. Equally widespread is the bickering among the different governments involved. In the DREE programs the mechanics of efficient division of labour have been devised whereby the Federal Government is responsible for the economic growth of the region and the Provincial Government for the social development of the residents. However, as mentioned earlier, complications have arisen in the

implementation of the plan due to the Federal-Provincial conflict. By way of summary, Mr. Adam said that: "the bureaucratic red tape constantly jeopardizes the progress of the plan".³⁸

Some of the problems of coordinating the two levels of government have interfered with the public education programs needed to train the residents for new job opportunities. A general increase in the education level is required if the residents are to share similar opportunities with other Canadians living in different regions. To evaluate these education programs (designed to integrate the citizens into the average Canadian life style) DREE officials are examining the family patterns over the next twenty years. The changes in family life styles attributable to the new changes will indicate the social success of the DREE project. If the children of parents who became employed rather than remained welfare recipients, continue to be workers, then the program will have met at least partially its goal to improve the social conditions of the community.³⁹

Generally these programs providing education and on-the-job training seem unable to involve those that need the opportunity the most and that will face the greatest difficulty adjusting. Instead, according to Ian Adams, these programs recruit families who are most likely to succeed regardless of their involvement with the DREE program.⁴⁰ Thus an effective evaluation of the program will involve a

study of all the residents of the area, those who participated in the project directly, those that procured work on their own and those that remained on welfare. This evaluation will take years to prepare and, as suggested earlier, will be of limited value.

Quality of Life

Finally, the community development projects are expected to improve the social, cultural and economic conditions of the community. An evaluation of improvement is dependent on one's definition of the goodness of man. In the context of economic development, the measure of improvement seems to focus around the extrinsic values of one life style or another or around the best possible combination of the two. For example, can an Indian remain loyal to his cultural heritage and at the same time share the same standard of living as the average Canadian with a very different life style? Is a poor farmer happier when he leaves the farm and gains more income from being regularly employed as a factory worker? How important is the maintenance of different identities to the fabric of the nation?

Industrialization inevitably changes the traditional agricultural way of life in an area. For some writers, the plight of technological society is so great, that mankind should consider very carefully any attempt to extend industrialization as we have experienced it to date. If

communities as we now know them are adjusted out of their existence as remote isolated areas, where will modern man go for his solace?⁴¹

In Newfoundland the problem of lessening the poverty of fishermen was studied. Two alternatives arose: one was to promote growth centres where big modern plants would be installed and the smaller remote and inefficient ports would be closed so that the fishermen could compete on the world market; the other was to revitalize the inshore fishery so that the fishermen in each port would control the processing operation. The ARDA program supports the growth centre concept and a former employee says the following about that choice:

The objective? The objective is to regard rural Newfoundland as one cheap labour--cheap labour for the British controlled lumber industry, cheap labour for the American controlled fish industry. All these programs and plans you hear about--resettlement, mobility, assistance, retraining--they all seem impressive. But they amount to--how do you call it--icing the cake. And the cake is filled with arsenic for these people. The people could build, develop and control the fishing industry that would allow an exciting and constructive rural community to flourish. They have done this in Europe. They have done it in Iceland. But the federal and provincial governments here won't do it. They are afraid to tackle the fish trade. Besides they have no imagination.⁴²

A similar criticism of the Lesser Slave Lake project could be made. The North American Studd Company costing a total of 3.5 million dollars received a grant of 1.2 million dollars to provide 100 jobs in the mill and 100 jobs in logging. When the plant is in full operation, it is

calculated to make 60 million board feet of lumber from scrub lumber in the area. Much of this produce may be sold in the United States for the president, Gordon Tripp, has twenty years experience in Oregon lumber sales and the United States Housing Board has approved the lumber product for use in constructing homes.⁴³ The Metis Association is bitter over Tripp's grant and feels that the money should have been spent on the native cooperative or on a native company. Instead Tripp will operate the Wabasca Lumber Cooperative and teach the men about production, management and marketing. When the men are well enough skilled, the cooperative will revert back to their control.⁴⁴ Here as in Newfoundland, the alternative to private enterprise development of the region is the cooperative movement or crown corporations to exploit the natural resources of the region.

Employment

A salient aspect of these programs has been the massive expenditure for a minimum number of jobs. The Economic Council of Canada estimated that the benefit of the ARDA program to the individual farmer amounted to fifty cents out of the dollar paid to the project by the Canadian tax payer.⁴⁵ The other fifty cents paid for administration and capital costs of the program. Even if "regular allotments for ARDA were to be invested on behalf of the half million poor families alone, the amount per family would come to fifty dollars".⁴⁶ This sum of money is so small when spread

across the country, and secondly seems spent inefficiently that one would expect meagre results.

Mathias has reviewed a variety of government programs in the last few years and concludes:

New government agencies are launched and one acronym follows another into a state of suspended animation, ADA, ARDA, and FRED act as funnels for public funds with only token results; the total benefits, it appears, are less than the actual costs; i.e. we might have done better, just giving the money away to the local inhabitants.

In view of a similar pattern of massive expenditure and little permanent employment following, one can conclude that the Federal Government's prime attention is not on the creation of jobs.

Factors such as the competitive world market conditions, the automation of manufacturing industries and the balance of trade seem to be the deciding factors in the creation of the DREE program. If this is the case, then the government should not publicize the job creating aspects and community development component of the DREE programs and should state that the grants are to assist Canadian industry compete on the world market.

The final evaluation of these programs is based on one's values and visions of an improved world. The DREE programs state that the poverty struck rural areas must adapt to the changing technological society and that such transformations will occur with the rational use of the human and natural resources of the area. Immediately in the light of such assumptions, one can begin to discuss the effect of such

alterations on the quantitative and qualitative life styles of the rural population. In addition, an other area of questioning deals with the economic theories behind such a program to rationalize the rural resources. Thirdly, one can measure these programs in terms of their success as community development projects, with adequate citizen participation, government coordination and a proper on-going evaluation mechanism. The failure of the present DREE program does not suggest that the economic component of community development as described by the United Nations should be eliminated. However, to be a part of the community development process, economic programs must consider fully the social, cultural and capital needs of the communities concerned. Secondly, they must involve the citizens actively in developing the plan.

ASSUMPTIONS

Introduction

Since the programs discussed in this section have focused centrally on the economic aspects of community development, I shall review the general economic principles upon which such programs have been built. (In the section dealing with social development, questions dealing with the human aspect will be considered). Important questions relating to economic development include, 1) the problems inherent in the multiplier concept of growth, 2) the results

of subsidizing private industry to develop in areas that are judged to be too costly without incentive grants, and 3) the likelihood that the presence of such industries will raise the standard of living of most of the residents in a particular community.

Multiplier Concept

The multiplier concept works from the idea that once infrastructure has been provided, industries will be established in the area and then permanent jobs will result. The capital expenditure is the first step in a chain of investment decisions made on the assumption that other investments will follow and produce lasting employment only if industries move into the area to take advantage of the new facilities. To initiate the economic development of a region, the Federal Government spends large sums building roads, town sites, and schools to attract industries into particular areas. Immediately the employment opportunities in construction industries increase. However, the employment opportunities will continue to increase only if other industries establish themselves in the area. In areas like Bathurst, New Brunswick, the predicted industries did not arrive and when the first operations were completed, the men were unemployed. A similar situation could develop in Lesser Slave Lake.

In a mostly unplanned economy such as that of Canada, the uncertainties of the market and the international

monetary system make it hard to estimate if industries will be inclined to establish new plants in untried areas. Thus often in the interval between the planning and the construction of new plants, the market has changed, and the costly infrastructures are left unused as companies decide against new ventures. If before the initial investments were made, the Federal Government secured enterprises that were willing to locate in the special areas, then the DREE programs would have a sounder base and the initial investments need not be wasted.

Subsidies

Perhaps more important than the multiplier growth concept, is the whole question of subsidies. Buckley and Tihanyi suggest that industries should not be encouraged to develop in a protected environment when eventually, they must meet the competition of the outside market. In terms of the market economy, the policy of subsidies or absorbing part of the costs, allows industries and farmers to make profits that the market conditions would not allow normally, and thus fosters inefficiency. ARDA programs seemed to permit marginal farmers to continue despite market conditions which would have forced them into bankruptcy.⁴⁸

Generally the Canadian government has supported private enterprise either through special tariffs on imported goods, or through direct subsidies and tax concessions. Examples of industries that receive protection by the

Canadian government include Dominion Coal and Steel Company Limited, Canadian Pacific Railways, and Dominion Textiles Limited. In spite of the advantages given to these firms, the Government has minimal control over their policy decisions and none have experimented with new kinds of working conditions for their employees.

If private enterprise considers that the costs of establishing in poor areas are too high:

A much more discriminating cost-benefit analysis should be applied to prove such expenditure is not too costly for the Canadians at large. As a partial investor, the government ought to consider the market conditions with the same scrupulous care that a private investor does, since the producers will have to compete on the open market eventually.⁴⁹

Historically government attempts to support industries have raised many questions. In the Montreal plain area, millions of dollars have been spent to attract textile mills and rubber plants to prop up the sagging economy of small towns.

These were service centres of a thriving agricultural economy, which has retrenched in the face of a changing world. Yet the Montreal Plain is the largest area of agricultural class 1 land in Canada sitting in the middle of over 50 million people. If a tenth of the funds devoted to subsidies to low wage industries had been used to assist structural change in agricultural and other systems in the region, the region would be wealthy, self-sufficient and contributing to the national economy instead of contributing to inflation.⁵⁰

In the Lesser Slave Lake area, the fallacy of importing industries that do not use the natural resources of the region has been avoided so far with a concentration on lumber industries and tourism, both indigenous to the

region. The future of lumbering is unstable with a fluctuating world market, and with an increasing use of recycling plants. Also when the qualitative side of life is considered, lumber industries are notorious for plundering the countryside and polluting the streams. Secondly, the wages and number of jobs are low.

Per Capita Income

An aim of the DREE programs is to raise the per capita income, largely by development projects, and secondly by providing some opportunity for labour mobility. Unlike other programs which make direct payments to the individuals such as welfare schemes, DREE programs offer employment opportunities with the aim of helping the residents help themselves. However, as suggested in the evaluation, the per capita income of the average resident has not increased greatly. Buckley and Tihanyi suggest that the poor farmer did not have the potential resources to take advantage of the ARDA program.⁵¹ Similarly, small companies do not have the required capital to begin the new plants. However, large scale farmers and big companies such as International Business Machines, International Telegraph and Telephone, Stelco and Johns-Manville have been in a position to take advantage of DREE incentive grants. Thus "the small and medium companies cannot meet the challenge of regional development, and for large enterprises, the government grants are gifts, pure and simple".⁵²

Many ways exist to increase the per capita income. If, as the Canadian government has done, one chooses employment opportunities as the best method, then one must consider the most efficient manner of providing employment, the skills required in order for the residents to become employable and in a community development program, the social and cultural affect on the community of different kinds of industry. Perhaps at the conclusion of their study, the whole concept of providing employment by introducing big and efficient factories into an area will prove out-dated. Robert Theobald has indicated that modern cybernation or automation means that many traditional manual jobs will be automated and man will have to find new ways to spend his time.⁵³

Corporate Capitalism

In the community development process, consideration must be given to the quality of environment and life available to citizens. As cited earlier many writers are concerned about the affect of technology on man. Kari Levitt expresses the kind of life resulting from corporate capitalism as follows:

Corporate capitalism generates technological unemployment and over urbanization, poverty or abject dependence for the weak and disadvantaged, and abuse of human dignity for the young and the old, and traps the employed in a circular process of earning and spending, borrowing and saving which is designed to create a constant state of anxiety and perpetually unattainable rising level of aspirations concerning private consumption.⁵⁴

Community development is primarily concerned with human development in all its aspects, including economic, social, cultural and political. Canadian corporations generally are concerned with other issues such as profit maximization and efficiency. G. H. Reschenthaler, in reviewing Canadian Business concludes the following:

Business and unions will be socially responsible either when they have not (sic) choice or when the path which represents the best interests of the public also represents the long-run interests of the corporation or the union. In this sense corporate and union acts of social responsibility are simply viewed as public relations efforts which are designed to promote maximum long-run growth and gains. This thesis receives some support from recent activities of large multi-national corporations which have spent more on advertising pollution control measures than they have on the measures themselves. This thesis is also consistent with the traditional assumption of profit maximization in price theory.⁵⁵

If corporations cannot be expected to take leadership in solving problems of low income and minority groups,⁵⁶ what is the role of the government? Mathias suggests that historically the Federal and Provincial Governments have supported corporate capitalists. He describes these arrangements as follows:

The shunning of 'socialism' has driven provincial governments into arrangements in which they have paid all or most of the expenses of establishing a plant, using a promoter or a company as a 'private enterprise' front that gave the project political respectability. In many projects the provincial government put up almost all the money and the profit, if any had been generated would have gone entirely to the promoters.⁵⁷

The Quebec Federation of Labour questions the validity of using DREE as a method of increasing the standard

of living in depressed areas. They conclude that the DREE approach to economic development will not increase employment opportunities available.

DREE has not changed the structure of the Quebec economy. DREE has perpetuated outside control of Quebec's economy It has neglected the poorest parts of the province in favour of those that are economically stronger The new employment it creates is often offset by lay offs or shut downs elsewhere, sometimes in the same companies that get the grants.* Government grants . . . have eliminated the risk factor from private enterprise--the usual justification for private profit.⁵⁸

*An example of such a company is the International Telegraph and Telephone. One subsidiary C. I. P. laid off 600 workers while another, Rayonnier, was granted funds to create jobs for 500 workers.

The Atlantic Provinces Economic Council made similar criticisms of the DREE programs in the Atlantic Region.

The Government's introduction of the DREE program does not seem to affect substantially the employment opportunities for rural residents but seems to provide chances for private enterprise to become more efficient. Kari Levitt finds the government's attempt to improve the economic conditions of depressed regions by the use of DREE projects very superficial.

There is clearly not a stable or permanent solution to the problem of unemployment along present lines of development, however much money is poured into the economy. Present employment creating policies subsidize large corporations to become efficient and profitable, while workers are laid off--sometimes by the same company--and small farmers, fishermen and artisans are squeezed into marginality. This constitutes fiscal redistribution from the poor to the rich and a transfer of risk taking from the large private enterprise to the taxpayer. Extension of the state intervention, with or

without nationalization, can only reinforce the present trend unless accomplished by direct popular participation in the making of economic decisions.⁵⁹

Source of Bias

Another assumption that is implicit in the DREE programs is that the politicians, businessmen and civil servants can make the best decisions for a community. In Canada, no effective mechanism for citizen participation in the decision making process of government or industries, either private or publicly owned has been arranged.

So far the citizens have been "represented" by the politicians whenever a joint decision between the private enterprise sector and the government has been made. These so-called representatives of the people depend on contributions from the private firms to finance their political campaigns. The many instances of suspected collusion between the members of cabinets and the executives of private enterprise and the cases of charges of conflict of interest lead one to suppose that the politicians' decisions are influenced by the wishes of those who finance their election, and not by considerations for the welfare of the community.

Another source of bias in the DREE programs may come from the reliance on professionals hired to develop a suitable industrialization plan for an area. Their ability to assess the ethos of a poverty struck area sufficiently to propose appropriate plans can be questioned. Many examples can be cited of their failure to take into account the

loyalties of the local people.⁶⁰ In Canada, Klapstein mentions a failure of the ARDA programs to comprehend the poor farmer's love of his land. Thus even when the residents were offered more money than perhaps they might ever be for their farm and at the same time opportunities for further education so that they could obtain employment elsewhere, some farmers refused to participate in the ARDA plan.⁶¹ A similar situation developed in Prince Edward Island where the Provincial Government wanted to establish a land bank, but for a long time the farmers were suspicious of the Government's offer.⁶²

Conclusion

Reasons for the divergence of opinion between the researchers and the residents may include many factors. Sometimes the researchers lack the required time to come to know and understand the local people. At other times they may have preconceived ideas about the future of an area and suitable life style for the residents. In other cases, as is true of the Lesser Slave Lake area, the residents have answered so many questionnaires and witnessed so little change in their area that they are reluctant to try any more.⁶³

The DREE programs are based on the premise that the slow growth areas will overcome their poverty only by becoming part of the changing technological society and that the most efficient way of doing so is to concentrate on

growth centres such as Halifax, St. John, or Lesser Slave Lake. These growth centres are developed to make them attractive town sites for prospective industries. The industries which decide to locate in special areas receive massive incentive grants while the government pays for the social costs. Even if such an approach to economic development was more successful than it has proved to date, the question remains, are these the goals of community development that should be supported?

SUMMARY

If in fact these policies do have an affect on the general economic and social development of Canada, then they encourage a further decline of the rural areas and an increase in the concentration of urban areas.

If the present trends continue one half of all Canadians will be living in three centres, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, by the year 2,000. And only 5% of the Canadian population will be living outside centres of 400,000 people. This can only mean a further aggravation of rising housing costs, traffic congestion, and air and noise pollution and growing urban slums.⁶⁴

If such predictions are accurate, and judging by present day developments they seem to be, then we should reconsider the whole issue of economic development under the control of private enterprise. The purposes of these economic development projects seem to be rapid industrialization of the area or quick rationalization and modernization of production methods with little concern for the long term social costs. While the efficiency of economic

development projects may be measured by objective evaluators at different points in the progress of the program, social costs are much more intangible. However, both economic and social growth are important components of the community development process.

In the next section, I shall review some of the questions raised in the complex issue of social development. For example, should certain ways of life be preserved? What is the value of providing every Canadian with at least a minimum standard of living in terms of medical, schooling and educational facilities? Who has the right to decide that after a certain point one should not receive public assistance regardless of his need and so on?

To conclude this section about the community development process designed to promote economic growth, let us summarize some of its weaknesses, if the programs are to be considered part of the community development process. In Lesser Slave Lake, the project has furthered foreign ownership of the country; it has made a questionable impact on the quality of life in the community; it has failed so far to attract labour-intensive industry and thus it has failed to sustain a high level of employment, and it has not involved the local people in the development of the program. Lastly, the programs have no on-going mechanism by which to evaluate their progress and to change their course if necessary.

When the government invests in community development programs to stimulate the economic growth of an area, the level of expenditure is high. When economic considerations as outlined by private enterprise predominate in determining the course of the plan, then the programs fail to integrate all the needs of the region. They concentrate on the economic man and leave the social and cultural aspects of life to the initiative of the employed man. Thus programs to rationalize the economic structure of a region have not accounted for the historical ties and present aspirations of the local residents in the development of the "efficient" plans. They do emphasize however, that effective community development process fulfils man's need for a decent standard of living if he is to become part of the overall development and progress of the nation.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

In community development projects geared to revamp the sagging economy of depressed regions, the priority is economic development and the goals and results are quantifiable. Economic surveys which indicate the immediate and long term costs of various alternatives form the basis of deciding upon which approach will accomplish the goals of its promoters. When economic development projects are compounded with social development priorities, the decision making process is far more complicated. Human and ecological benefits are not measured in quantifiable terms, but rather according to subjective and personal values. Moreover, the term, social development, itself is difficult to define.

While the United Nation's definition of community development includes the concepts, cultural and social improvements and joint efforts of the local residents and the government, such ideas are not described in further detail. Theoreticians such as Glen Leet, Thomas Batten, Murray Ross and William Biddle have attempted to describe in more detail the essence of social development within the community development context. Some like Leet and Batten focus on the needs of the individual, for example,

Community development is essentially human development. In the field of community development, the goal is to create an atmosphere in which people can express their inherent right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness unfettered by the chains of hunger, poverty and ignorance. The attainment of the goal must start with the basic need of the human soul to express, grow and build a life that will fulfill its dreams. He needs only the stimulus of understanding, knowledge that others recognize his individuality and respect it, and the guidance that will evoke his latent ability to achieve his goal.¹

or;

Community development is the process of increasing people's satisfaction and enlargement of individual freedom.²

Other writers concentrate on the changes that take place within the community.. For example:

Community organization is a process by which a community identifies its needs or objectives, orders (or ranks) them, finds the resources (internal and/or external) to deal with them, takes action in respect to them and in so doing extends and develops cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community.³

or;

Community development is a social process by which human beings can become more competent to live with and gain some control over aspects of a frustrating and changing world.⁴

Like the definitions of community development quoted above, that of the Company of Young Canadians emphasizes the initiative of the local people in solving the problems of their environment. The concept of power implied in the other statements is discussed clearly in the definition, drafted by the Company of Young Canadians. The authors of this statement conclude that the use of power by community

groups will lead to confrontation with the status quo.

Community development, briefly and simplistically, believes in actually giving power to the people. It believes that given the power over their own existence, people are capable of reaching the right decisions, in fact that whatever decisions they do reach are the right decisions, no matter what the social worker, or welfare officer or Indian agent may personally think of them. The good community development officer's only role is to act as a catalyst in giving back this basic decision-making right and power to those groups who have been deprived of it--and deprived of it for so long that they may need a little push to realize it is their right and power. Successful community development can mean the formation of a militant citizen's organization in an urban poor ghetto where residents fight against being shoved around by city politicians, or the decision of an Indian band on a reservation to develop its own economy according to its own interests instead of being retrained for technical jobs or subsisting on government hand outs. Whatever form it takes, it, almost by definition, is sure to produce conflict with the Establishment.⁵

All these definitions focus on the need for individuals alone or in small community groups to take control of situations which affect their future. The people who become involved in such community development programs are struggling to assert their individuality in a dehumanized and standardized society. Unlike the United Nation's definition, these statements cited above do not relate the personal needs of individuals or small communities to the national developments. Instead they concentrate on the changes that individuals or small communities will undergo.

Despite the endeavour to clarify the concept of community development, these definitions are subject to varying interpretations. Concepts such as the "creation of an atmosphere in which people can express their inherent

right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness", the "guidance that will evoke latent ability to achieve certain goals", the "cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practice" and "become more competent to live with and gain some control over" refer to the quality of life. How one designs programs to improve the quality of life depends on what one considers man's purpose in the world.

Related to the problem of defining social and cultural improvement, is the fact that some theoreticians emphasize self-actualization while others concentrate on the community improvement. If one thinks of man as a social being primarily, who can accomplish his goals best in the company of others, then by improving conditions of a community, one would be strengthening, indirectly, the residents. If one is sceptical about the nature of overall community benefits, then one would focus on programs to help the individual directly.

In spite of the range of interpretations about the social components of community development, the program can be explained in general as an attempt to humanize the environment. The thinking underlying such programs can be summarized by this statement: "If man is formed by circumstances, circumstances should be humanly formed."⁶ Then individuals will be thinking and feeling beings rather than mechanical and harsh beings in the treatment of others.

Humanizing the environment implies finding ways so

that the problems experienced by people can be solved according to the needs of individuals, rather than according to bureaucratic stipulations. If the individual can be given the support he needs to sort out particular problems, then he will gain the self-confidence he needs to tackle future difficulties. At this level the community development worker deals with the individual and his needs in his community. The programs are not designed to relate the individual specifically to national developments.

When actions are undertaken to initiate programs to humanize the environment in a community, moral decisions determine the course of the project. Choices on matters such as the following shape the character of the project: the nature of funding, the choice of priorities in communities, which are poor in so many ways, the scope and duration of the project, and the kind of leadership and expertise most suited for projects aimed to humanize the environment.

Apart from questions dealing with the specific nature of a particular program, other areas of debate deal with the broader issues of social development. For example, in attempting to lessen the anguish of poverty, should programs concentrate on alleviating first the spiritual poverty or the material deprivation? Is the creation of an environment where individuals express their inherent "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" possible, when ignorance and poverty still prevail? Does encouraging the

individual to pursue his own goals accomplish the interests of a program designed to humanize the environment, or do more tangible actions result from individual commitment to an integrated plan? Is a project accurately described as successful if there is sufficient evidence of improved mental health of the participants in the project, although no tangible improvements can be listed?

The answers to the questions above depend on a variety of factors. One will be the limitations set by the funding and general nature of the program. Another will be the moral or ideological commitment of the leader of the program. A third will be the history and expectations of the community taking part in the program. Under different circumstances, certain approaches to this level of community development may be more appropriate than others. Also, before making a decision about the course of actions, the practical and possible must be weighed carefully. As a result of the moral or ethical nature of such decisions, evaluations of these projects to humanize the environment are much more subjective than those dealing with economic development projects. The vagueness of human relations makes social development programs much harder to evaluate. When one bears in mind the poverty of the individuals involved in such a program, one is relieved by the effort to palliate the poverty. However, the purpose of this thesis is to examine these programs as part of the community development process.

PROGRAMS

Since many of the programs to humanize the environment were developed by individuals trained in social work, rather than in community development, the distinction between programs that are service-oriented and those that are community development based is difficult to define. However, in general, the service-oriented programs tend to provide efficient care for people, while the community development ones aim to include the citizens in the development of the services they have requested. At times the community development programs become paralyzed by their inability to give priority either to educating the citizens to make their own decisions about the program, regardless of their mistakes or to accomplish specific tasks at the request of citizens who presently lack the expertise. This struggle to determine whether the aim of the program is to improve the environment or whether it is to help people find themselves predominates in many programs designed to humanize the environment.

In an attempt to provide the reader with a general impression of the nature of programs to humanize the environment, I have reviewed briefly three descriptions of the process provided by the Edmonton Social Planning Council, the West Ten Pilot Project and the Preventive Social Services. The last two receive joint funding from the Municipal and Provincial Governments, while the Edmonton Social Planning Council receives most of its funding from the United Community Fund.⁷

The Edmonton Social Planning Council outlines its approach to helping people achieve their goals as follows:

The Planning Council believes that people who are in underprivileged situations can be assisted and encouraged to believe that they can change their own situation, to acquire control over their own future, and to become in the fullest sense a citizen,--a society maker, men and women self-reliant and cooperative who feel that the city is theirs, open to their voice and actions, and who know there are others ready to act in concert with them.

The Council is assisting and encouraging people to do their own thing by using newly acquired techniques to plan with people rather than for people.⁸

The West Ten Pilot project shares a similar philosophy to that of the Edmonton Social Planning Council and expresses its approach as follows:

The goals of human development are basically to ensure a) dignified and useful employment, b) an education for future needs, c) meaningful opportunities for participation in community programs, and d) access to a system of health, welfare and civil services

If Edmonton is to move truly toward human development, two basic shifts in concept and orientation are required. First a shift from a "prevention" to an "enabling" orientation, secondly a shift from a human resource orientation to a human orientation whereby the individual is the end goal in a development process rather than a resource to serve society

Human development can be accomplished through a) the efforts of the people themselves given adequate motivation, information and an enabling rather than a controlling environment, b) programs and activities offered by the public and private agencies encouraging individual growth; c) services responsive to particular needs that have to be dealt with before further development can take place.⁹

Of the three examples cited here of community development projects designed to humanize the environment, the Preventive Social Service program is the only one to

discuss community efforts as part of its general perspective.

The Preventive Social Services concept is designed to develop community awareness and resources to strengthen and preserve human initiative and to preclude individual or family breakdown The emphasis on the local community's responsibility rests on the belief that most communities, like individuals, have the desire, energy and resources for self improvement The Preventive Social Services opportunity is a positive approach towards a new dimension in individual fulfilment and community development.¹⁰

The Preventive Social Services is a cost-sharing program whereby the municipal government pays twenty percent of the cost and the provincial government pays the remainder. Some of their projects include day care centres, community information services and recreation programs.

The need for the individual to find environments which support his own development and growth is a recurrent theme in these programs. This self-fulfilment of the individual is the end goal and his potential relationship to the completion of a particular program is not important. Part of his self-development will be realized as the individual develops awareness of his own and others' needs, and more will be as he takes initiative to bring about appropriate changes. Through the process of building a community that is responsive to the needs of the individual, the citizens will create an environment that is supportive to individuals.

PROBLEM DEFINITION

When the community development worker is primarily concerned with the immediate welfare of individuals, he

becomes aware of the lack of opportunity for the individual to express his views. The citizen has few occasions to voice effectively his opinions about future developments of his community that may alter his life. For example, most plans for rapid transit, freeways, community services, new zoning laws and so on are announced to the public with little opportunity for community discussion about the subject. As a result, the individual learns to tolerate the experts and officials' choice, and may doubt that other alternatives do exist. When people are placed in categories such as mentally ill, welfare recipients, transient men, or women offenders, their lives seem predestined to follow a pattern established by a bureaucracy and they lose their individuality.

As a nation, Canada has the wealth that could provide individuals with opportunities to choose the kind of life they may wish to lead. Glen Leet refers to this right in terms of building "a life that will fulfill his dreams."¹¹ Despite the possible fantasy involved in such a dream, the thought emphasizes the wide variety of choices that should be available to Canadians to determine their own life style. The fact that many Canadians do not have that choice is a paradox that the Edmonton Social Planning Council expresses as follows:

We are confronted by a paradox--a country of great wealth, resources and beauty, a burgeoning technology--apparently the means at our finger tips to dispel inequities and poverty forever, yet its constant existence and increasing visibility plague us. It appears that an ethical revolution of some sort is required to

reduce the expanding disparities that exist.¹²

Many individuals are denied access to the opportunities that such "great wealth, resources, beauty and burgeoning technology" should provide. The most deprived groups of society participate in this richness only to the extent of social assistance, and the search for efficiency has lead to programs which apparently cannot be tailored to suit individual needs. When people seek to influence the decision-making process to make changes in institutions that seem to determine their lives, they are ignored in the bureaucratic jungle. Only individuals who have a thorough knowledge of the bureaucratic set-up have a hope of altering its course of action, and such people usually have more formal education and experience in dealing with the system than the most deprived members of society.

Repeated victories at manipulating the system may assure the individual some degree of self-determination. The most likely vehicles to the decision making process include education and employment. What independence and identity the individual does not gain through these avenues, he may find through out-purchasing his peers. The results of such competitions to control the quality of one's own life are an alienated society:

Persons no longer share common values; competition for status positions and material goods is fierce; and those unable to compete because of economic, educational or emotional handicaps are rejected and isolated. An inordinate percentage of the poor fall into this category.¹³

STRATEGY

Each instance of impersonal treatment which denies the individual an opportunity to pursue matters of importance to him is humiliating and destroys the individual's self-confidence and feelings of worth. This experience can be replaced by personal attention where each individual is welcomed as he is and not asked to conform to the regulations of a bureaucracy. People should not be forced to change but rather alternative opportunities should be available to them so that they can decide how they wish to live. The Edmonton Social Planning Council expresses its approach as follows:

The Council begins from a position of firm conviction regarding the dignity and worth of all mankind. Our observations indicate clearly that most efforts to alleviate poverty are aimed at what is called "rehabilitation" . . . modifying or changing the behavior of the individual to make him employable, productive and a consumer of goods. We recognize that such programs are based on false assumptions. Man should not be forced to change. Situations, environments, opportunities, alternatives should be presented to all for a free choice by individuals to build their own lives based on their own visions, and desires and using their personal strengths and resources.¹⁴

In building up an environment of alternatives, a community development worker wants individuals to develop their self-awareness and to feel comfortable participating in discussions about the community and finally to want to become involved in the decision-making process.

People must be allowed to develop their potential as human beings. Opportunities must be available and accessible. Responsibility must be encouraged. Receivers of services particularly must be encouraged to volunteer their services. Only when we allow welfare

recipients, the handicapped and the disenfranchised to contribute to society as well as receive from society, can they truly have a sense of belonging and only after achieving a sense of belonging can they go on to the levels of self-reliance and self-esteem.*

*The terms used are within the context of Maslow's theory of a hierarchy of needs, i.e., survival, security, belonging, esteem and self actualization.¹⁵

In order that the receivers of services can learn to contribute to the society as well as receive from it, they need to become involved in a group:

The major objective is the development of a "we-feeling" and a capacity to function cooperatively in problem-solving activity. The strategies involved in changing attitudes and developing confidence are not dissimilar to non-directive therapeutic engagement used in clinical social work propounded by Carl Rogers. Nor are they dissimilar to those used in non-directive community social work practice expounded by other proponents of the Ross school such as George Gaetschius, William and Loureide Biddle, and T. R. Batten. An assumption is that the individuals through the process of participation in a therapeutic-like group situation will be better able to find a real purpose in life, to control their emotional impulses, to think more objectively, to establish more rewarding relationships with others, to make more satisfying use of their increasing hours of leisure.¹⁶

Warren describes the role of a community development worker if he is to achieve the atmosphere described by Vrooman quoted above:

He should have no pre-determined goals which the villagers must accept for their own economic or political salvation, no technical practice or administrative program to sell as his solution to their problem. He is in the community to assist the people in it to learn how to acquire a certain understanding necessary for their democratic participation in more effectively solving whatever problems of community improvement, in whatever priority they desire. The emphasis of community development on leadership training is to produce as many

citizens as possible who are equipped with attitudes, skills, concepts and perceptual sensitivities which will make self-perpetuating the effective use of the democratic problem solving process.¹⁷

Examples of tasks which engender cooperative decision-making and are likely to succeed include manual tasks such as arrangements for coffee, painting the walls, and perhaps organizing some aspects of fund raising drives. Generally, tasks which are designed to be therapeutic are not vital to the development of a program. The strain of working with various personalities and of complying with regulations is very wearing, especially for a person who lacks self-confidence. Two alternative strategies seem to emerge; 1) local involvement in programs which will build a history of small success, but which are not fundamental to the project which is directed by well-trained people; or 2) local involvement in the decision-making process which may prove frustrating as people learn the required skills and which may endanger the success of the whole project, if the local citizens make too many mistakes.

When a group proposes to humanize the environment within a community, they must decide upon an appropriate course of action. Recently many writers have discussed future trends which may provide general guidelines for people establishing programs to humanize the environment.¹⁸ Nevertheless people undertaking a social development program must examine the ethos of the particular community where they are working in order to determine the best course of action.

Unlike programs designed primarily to improve the economic base of an area, programs concentrating on social development may lack funds to undertake a detailed study of the needs and aspirations of the residents of a particular community. Thus their method of delineating their program is dependent on their intimate knowledge of the community, and not necessarily statistical data. For this reason, that is, that personal knowledge forms the basis of judgement for choosing a course of action, programs to humanize the environment may be subject to criticism from people who would choose other priorities for the community or who would choose other strategies to achieve these ends.

A person's own assessment of the best method of work is not the only factor to be considered in deciding upon a course of action. Funding bodies also have their stipulations about how a project should proceed. Unlike the economic development projects sponsored by DREE, where financing of the project is established before the program is launched, proposals to humanize the environment often need to scrounge for funding and can expand their program only as more money becomes available. Thus while the advocates of such a program may have clear ideas about how they hope the project will expand, the immediate strategy is curtailed for lack of money.

In devising a strategy consider this dilemma: Is it better to present a "perfect plan" that seems so elaborate or

threatening that potential funding bodies will not finance it, or to present a piecemeal plan that is unlikely to accomplish the ends for which it was proposed, but that will receive funding? This problem must be resolved in the most practical compromise between the desires of the promoters and the demands of the funding agencies. Usually the decision is made to accept whatever funding is available with the hope that once the project has started, improvements in the environment will be made.

Many community development officers in programs to humanize the environment feel a strong responsibility to see that the results of their projects do not jeopardize future funding. While this approach may curtail more experimental or conflict-oriented strategies, at least the accumulated good of all the endeavours, both now and in the future, will be of more benefit to the public than if the funds had been eliminated after the "failure" of the first project.¹⁹

The following is the "perspective in which the social planning councils and the United Appeals will continue to work, showing an increasing concern for all aspects of welfare and becoming increasingly aware and involved in and to some extent compromised in social and political development. The councils realize the financial restraints inherent in social development and will accept those that are freely accepted by the community. But they will reject those restraints that are contrary to the basic principle of "equal opportunity of all" or the "just society."²⁰

Another area of controversy in the development of strategies to humanize the environment has been the allocation of time. Community development workers must acquire

funding for their projects and therefore must spend a certain amount of time writing reports that will impress the appropriate granting bodies. If the sources of income include the politicians, then the community development worker must create goodwill among the public at large, so that the politician can be convinced of public support for his allocation of funds. Lastly the community development worker must spend time working in his community, informing the residents of his vision and soliciting their participation.

The strategy in social service projects focuses on creating alternatives for individuals. These intentions are expressed as follows by the Edmonton Social Planning Council:

It seems essential that close attention be given to the culture of the groups who are in this condition (skid row poverty) in order to determine their personalities and to provide alternatives and viable opportunities that will allow those men to develop in their own fashion, not one superimposed and based on external and foreign values.²¹

While the above abstract was written in connection with the men on skid row, the desire to cater to the particular needs of the people in the community is a theme throughout attempts to humanize the environment. These programs provide alternatives so that the individuals concerned, can make some choices about their future.

Examples of the types of alternatives proposed by strategies to humanize the environment include the following: instead of jail terms for offenders, community correction programs could be offered, instead of procuring welfare

services at various offices downtown, welfare recipients could receive the same attention in one building located in their community. Instead of wandering the streets at night, women could spend the time in the Women's Overnight Shelter. In reviewing the alternative strategies above, one will note the problem of distinguishing between providing a needed service and developing a self-help program whereby the recipients are responsible for its maintenance..

ASSUMPTIONS

I am breaking the pattern established for discussing the economic and political aspects of community development, by reviewing the assumptions of the social development programs before I evaluate their effectiveness as part of the community development process. The progress of the economic and political development programs can be measured in quantifiable terms, regardless of whether or not the reviewer endorses their ideology. In contrast, the results of programs to humanize the environment are often intangible and the intent of the program as much as the outcome itself serves as a base by which to understand the strengths and weakness inherent in such programs. Therefore, I shall review the assumptions of the social development programs before I evaluate them.

The programs to humanize the environment assume that people should be encouraged to make decisions about their

own future. Some members of society, notably the poor, are the least able to participate in the decision-making process and therefore the community development workers have concentrated on helping this group to achieve their basic needs in health services, shelter, food, clothing, employment and in personal development needs such as those of self-confidence and a higher level of education. The community development workers in these programs believe that if the individual, the worker himself and the society at large all make a commitment to help each other, then the environment can be humanized.

First, society "has the responsibility to provide ways in which the obstacles to the realization of full potential of each individual (i.e., disequilibrium between the individual and his environment) can be overcome or prevented."²² Thus "each individual has the right to participate justly in the nation's production and to get help whenever and for whatever reasons he needs it"²³ and he should be guaranteed also the freedom and the opportunity to carry responsibility as far as he is able for meeting his own needs and aspirations.²⁴ This concern for the dignity of the individual "requires the acceptance of the concept of community where common needs, not differences, strengthen the bond of community and provide an equilibrium by mixing all classes."²⁵ At the same time, the individual has a duty contribute to society's development as best he can. When

the individual takes a position of leadership in initiating a strategy for social change, Ross suggests that he should foster cooperation, consensus, democracy and popular participation.²⁶

When one is attempting to build a strategy based in cooperation, consensus, common values and unity, then one will be leery of an espoused ideology. Adherence to a manifesto or a specific ideology will mean that not all members of the community can participate in a particular project. Some opinions will automatically be classified as "wrong," given a specific frame of reference. The polarization of a community which usually results when a social change project adopts an ideology will run at cross-purposes to programs designed to create or build up a feeling of community. Secondly, such a manifesto may jeopardize the support of a group who might be helpful in establishing a program. The Edmonton Social Planning Council expresses their desire to remain open to all members of the community as follows:

The strongly expressed intention of the participants (is) not to use the project for demagoguery purposes or partisan political goals, but to work with a genuine spirit of service toward the development of the human resources of this community. This is led by the conviction that a better society requires better individuals, physically, mentally and socially speaking.²⁷

Another reason why an ideology may be considered unnecessary by people advocating programs to humanize the environment is that they believe "all people are basically

striving for personal happiness as they see it." This personal happiness seems based on desires for adequate opportunities for a "good life."

It is felt that all people are basically striving for personal happiness as they see it. Although few of the girls in jail experience a middle class background, they tend to have aspirations similar to those of a middle class working person. One girl writes: 'I often sit in my 'cage' and day dream what nice life I could have if I had the chance of having a good job and a home to go to.' Certainly none of these girls leave jail intending to return.²⁸

Accordingly, the lack of opportunities and not different sets of goals, interfere with the poor man's ability to obtain the middle class life style. Thus the role of the community development worker is to equip all members of society to compete on an equal footing with those groups that are more organized and articulate in a pluralistic and consensus-based society.

Since people are believed to share the same aspirations, then social development programs can be designed to cater to whole communities. However, the overall intent of these programs is to promote the unity of the community.

If the United Appeal is to be relevant to the poor as well as the affluent, the disadvantaged as well as the established must be a part of our initiative and thrust.²⁹

Generally projects designed to humanize the environment assume that the public as a whole can be educated about its responsibility to the underprivileged members and hope by increasing the feeling of belonging to a community, the residents will create a humanized environment.

EVALUATION

Introduction

As discussed in the section, Evaluation of Economic Development, programs designed to upgrade the economy of a region can be evaluated in quantifiable terms. In judging these programs dissension lies within opinions about the overall value of economic programs in contrast with human and ecological costs or about the worth of a particular method of economic development measured against another. The area of conflict in evaluating programs to humanize the environment is not over the goals but over the strategy used to attain those goals. Most readers would want each individual to have the opportunity to lead a happy creative, fulfilling and independent life as suggested by the definitions quoted in the introduction. However, the issue becomes: how does one develop a program which will help individuals reach their potential? The variety of options available for attaining such goals force the community development officer to justify his position to the public and also subject his choice to much more scrutiny and criticism.

In this section, I shall review some of the questions raised by the concept, social development as part of a total community development program. For example, apart from material assistance, can one person help another rearrange his life style? How does one reconcile the

individual's desires to "express his inherent right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," with his social responsibilities? Which function of these programs is more important: that of providing a service needed in a community or that of educating the residents to fulfill their own needs? What segment of society can benefit most from a community development program? Can one even attempt to "humanize the environment" without challenging the very foundation of our society? Do short term victories contribute to long range goals?

The answers to this kind of questioning reflect one's outlook on life and one's experiences. Community development workers like the Biddles seem to believe that individual community supported projects can humanize the environment. The duty of the community development worker is to inspire the residents of a community to tackle issues which are a source of annoyance. As the residents come to know each other by working on a community project, they develop feelings of community and advance to tackle other issues. When a conflict develops, the community development worker invites the contending parties to socialize and attempts to solve the differences so as to maintain the community consensus.³⁰

Community development workers influenced by Saul Alinsky would tackle the community development process differently. They would argue that no real change comes

about without conflict between those who hold the power and those who want to change the system. Not all members of a community can possibly benefit in the short term from the kind of changes Alinsky advocates, and therefore they will oppose the new program. The role of the community development worker is to equip the underdog with the ammunition he needs to change an unjust system.³¹

Other community development workers try to circumvent 1) charges of elitism such as sometimes occur in the kind of programs following a Biddle and Biddle style of community development or 2) charges of failure to gain community endorsement such as sometimes accompanies Alinsky style of community development. Instead they establish Boards of Directors composed of elected representatives from every segment of the community. Sometimes these boards are composed of such a diversity of people that no agreement can be reached. If this occurs, then the community development worker makes the major decisions so that the program can advance and the board becomes relegated to a perfunctory position. Or sometimes the most educated and articulate members of the board overwhelm the other members of the board and their motions are accepted, regardless of whether or not they are the best choice.³²

Different histories, personalities and community ethos, affect each community development program and make it impossible to establish rules of "correct" or "moral" choices.

Rather the realm of the possible and the realm of the practical must be merged into an appropriate arrangement for a community development program. What constitutes this "appropriate arrangement" is for the individuals of a community to determine. Since so many possibilities exist and each community has had different experiences, any plan is open to much debate and criticism. Obviously, it is difficult to evaluate specific programs under general categories. However, the intent of this thesis is to examine general trends at each level of community development. Therefore I shall comment in a general way about programs to humanize the environment.

Scope of Change

People designing a program to humanize the environment must decide before they implement their program the kind of changes in society necessary in order to humanize the environment. Generally the programs reviewed in this section have attempted to bring about alternative life styles for the poor without condemning the present foundations of our society. Instead they have tried to ameliorate the most glaring inequalities in our society. Yet Alinsky suggests that no true change can come about without a basic alteration of society. He concludes that the tendency to avoid confrontation with the present status quo is a reflection of middle class leadership. As a group, middle class leaders want improvements in society but at the same time they do not

want to risk losing the little that they have. Therefore, their strategy becomes a compromise between changing the foundations of society and ending the most glaring abuses of the present society. Alinsky concludes that the results of such middle class lead programs are minimal.

Between the Have and the Have-nots, are the Have-a-little, Want-mores, the middle class. Torn between upholding the status quo to protect the little they have, yet wanting change so that they can get more, they become split personalities. They could be described as social, economic and political schizoids. Generally, they seek the safe way, where they can profit by change and yet not risk losing the little they have. They insist on a minimum of three aces before playing a hand in the poker game of revolution. Thermopolitically they are tepid and rooted in inertia. Today in Western society and particularly in the United States they comprise the majority of our population.

Yet in the conflicting interests and contradictions within the Have-a-little, Want-mores, is the genesis of creativity. Out of this class have come with few exceptions, the great world leaders of change of the past centuries; Moses, Paul of Tarsus, Martin Luther, Robespierre, Georges Danton, Samuel Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, Napoleon Bonapart, Giuseppe Garibaldi, Nikolai Lenin, Mahatma Gandhi, Fidel Castro, Mao Tse Tung and others.

Just as the clash of interest with the Have-a-little, Want-mores, has bred so many of the great leaders, it has also spawned a particular breed stalemated by cross interests into inaction. These Do-Nothings profess a commitment to social change for ideals of justice, equality, and opportunity and then abstain from and discourage all effective action for change. They are known by their brand, "I agree with your ends, but not with your means." They function as blankets, whenever possible smothering sparks of dissension, that promise to flare up into the fire of action. These Do-Nothings appear publicly as good men, humanitarian, concerned with justice and dignity. In practice, they are invidious. They are the ones Edmund Burke referred to when he said acidly; "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evils is for good men to do nothing."³³

Such a criticism of middle class leadership lays bare the problem of long and short term goals. The kinds of

revolutions with which men like Lenin, Mao Tse Tung, Castro, Robespierre and others are associated embody a whole society. The development of a revolutionary movement can be traced back for at least a generation before the shape of the new regime evolves. When the old regime collapsed, the most active supporters of these movements have been members of the middle class who had the expertise to take up the leadership roles. These leaders have developed programs that they feel would benefit the peasants and poorest members of society and then assigned various roles for the different groups of society in order to accomplish their program. Generally, in the new regime, the duty to the state would be emphasized over the rights of individuals to pursue their own interests. The results of such programs in countries like, U.S.S.R., Cuba and China, have improved the material aspects of life for the citizens. Nevertheless, one may still ask if the environment in these countries is more humane and sympathetic to individual differences?

In contrast to the types of programs developed by revolutionary governments, programs to humanize the environment in Canada do not extend beyond one community. These programs do not enjoy the support necessary to change the economic opportunities open to an individual but are limited to helping the individual cope with "a frustrating and changing world". Thus, the frame of reference, of these programs is limited to humanizing the environment as much as

possible without revamping the whole structure of the nation. Whether or not one can in fact "humanize the environment" given these restrictions is for the individual to debate.

Local Involvement

Supposing that one agrees to humanize the environment given the above restrictions, still numerable problems arise. An aim of these community development programs is to help the local citizen become a "contributor as well as a receiver" or "a citizen--a society-maker, men and women self-reliant and cooperative". In order to establish a program that will advance these goals, one needs funds and often members of the middle class are most capable of procuring the necessary support. So members of the middle class take the initiative to find funding for a project.

If one attempted to first encourage the residents to apply for a grant, and tried to teach them the correct protocol for such a procedure, much time would be required and the project still might not be funded. When a project is financed, the next requirement is an accurate accounting of the money and secondly tangible results. If the records are not kept by a skilful and reliable individual, or if the leadership does not take the responsibility necessary to establish the program, the whole project is endangered. In both tasks, members of the middle class have more experience and secondly tend to be more stable and able to execute the tasks more efficiently than members of the most deprived

sections of the population.

Aware of the problem that the program may be dominated by the middle class, some community development workers attempt to educate the recipients of the program so that someday they can take the leadership. At times, the mere presence of members of the middle class seems to be a deterrent to the development of local initiative. The competence and self-confidence of the middle class leaders seems to overwhelm those who are expected to learn the skills necessary for maintaining such a project.

Method of Change

How do the poor move from the position of receiver of goods and services to that of contributor to society? If the leaders of a program suspect that their style is a hindrance, then do they leave the facilities to the leadership of someone in the community and hope that he/she will acquire the necessary skills to maintain the project?

If the project collapses due to ineffective leadership and then the funds are withdrawn, what is the role of the community development worker? Does he say that the facilities provided by the project are important enough to the well being of the community that he will reinstate himself and re-establish the program? Or does he state that the community development process means the option to make mistakes and to pick up the pieces whenever the community served by the project sees fit?

If the community development officer feels that certain people will benefit from particular opportunities, how does he encourage these people? After years of welfare, some individuals do not believe that their circumstances can change and are reluctant to, or afraid, to make the necessary effort. Does the community development worker accept Maslow's hierarchy of needs that one first needs to be assured of food, clothing and shelter before he can begin to take the initiative?³⁴ Does he therefore patiently supply the needed goods, hoping that sometime the individual will be strong enough to want to become more independent? Or does he adopt a different approach? Does he state that the community development concept involves taking responsibility for one's needs, perhaps if required at first with the assistance of someone else?

Conflict

In attempting to evaluate these programs, an examination of some of the contradictions in goals that beset these programs is fruitful. One dilemma to be resolved is the role of conflict in a program. On the one hand, a basic aim of programs to humanize the environment is to encourage the individual to take responsibility for decisions that will affect his life. People who have been subjected to the dehumanizing aspects of society and who have been forced into categories assigned by an agency or a bureaucracy will need much support before they will dare to take initiative. From

this perspective, conflict should be kept at a minimum, as the individual requires such reassurance and success as can be found in little tasks that are of secondary importance to the total project.

On the other hand, the task of building programs where citizen participation and initiative are essential will involve struggle between those who support the idea of arrangements decreed from an agency and those who demand citizen involvement in developing a program. The most deprived members of a community may not command the tactics necessary to ensure that they will have a say in all programs affecting their destiny. If they fail to win their case, they may be reluctant to try again. Therefore, many programs to humanize the environment prefer to spare the poor such anguish and reserve the conflict for the leadership establishing the new service for the poor.

Vrooman concludes that programs to humanize the environment solve the dilemma in favour of simple tasks, that are not basic to the project but that will involve to a limited extent the poor.

An increase in participatory decision-making around social issues that are meaningful to the disengaged and over which they gain control is believed to be therapeutic. One of the dilemmas in the approach is that involvement in major community decision centres is extremely difficult and can in fact be anti-therapeutic. To maximize therapeutic effectiveness, tasks are chosen that will engender cooperative decision making and that also have a high success predictability."³⁵

Service vs Development

Another dilemma emerges between the desire to provide a needed service for a community and the desire to educate the residents so that they can organize to fulfill their own needs. If the program requires expertise in administration and accounting, then the middle class is likely to have the necessary experience while the poor will have to learn these skills. At times the mere presence of members of the middle class may be a deterrent to the development of local initiative, but the designers of the program will be assured that the services will be provided efficiently.

If the community development workers are determined to teach the residents how to organize their own systems, their efforts concentrate on reawakening local initiative. Two general courses of action seem possible. One is to supply an individual patiently with needed food, clothing and shelter hoping that at sometime the recipient will want to become more self-reliant. Gradually as the recipient comes to trust the community development worker, he may dare to take some responsibility for himself. This approach emphasizes an improvement in the services available to residents of a community. A weakness of this approach is that the recipients of these programs may never become self-sufficient and may find too much comfort in the paternalism provided.

The second approach is to demand certain changes in an individual's life style before he can continue to receive

assistance. In other words, the recipient must prove that he is serious about taking responsibility for his life before he merits the consideration of a community development worker. Such an approach to community development implies that some life styles are superior to others. Today, due to a trend to appreciate cultural relativism, many people are hesitant to assert that some life styles are inferior to others. However, it would seem that some experiences equip an individual better than do others to gain a measure of control over his life in a highly technological society.

The weakness of demanding that people change their mode of life is that the program may not gain the support of the residents. From a middle class perspective, taking responsibility for the services one receives is essential for becoming more self-sufficient and competent to deal with a frustrating world. In reviewing his experiences in the Yukon, Lotz comments that the middle class choose to change the rest of society, rather than to cast a critical eye upon themselves. The result of such an approach to community development is that the middle class tend to see themselves as leading social change and to focus on issues that the local people do not perceive as realities. Their programs do not accomplish what their leaders had hoped and do not gain the support of the local people.³⁶

Before concluding as Warren does that community development workers must concentrate solely on the felt needs of the residents, one can consider educating the public. While

the success of the initial community development project may depend on satisfying the felt needs of the residents, at the same time, the worker can introduce alternate programs. In attempting to evaluate the education centred method of community development the case of an animator for Man and His Resources in New Brunswick may prove enlightening. When the residents were asked their priorities for improving the community, they answered a new high school and more paved roads. The animator argued that the Provincial Government was most unlikely to sponsor either a new building or more highways, and recommended instead smaller projects such as woodlot protection or the removal of old cars from the countryside. Needless to say, he was criticized by some for not serving the people since he did not help them organize to obtain a new school; he was accused by others of manipulating people to accept goals which were not their own and he was praised by others for educating the residents about practical action that they could take.³⁷ The point of this example seems to be that one evaluates such projects according to one's perspective about the meaning of social development.

The community development worker must decide also how he will interpret people's actions. Does he regard them as a reflection of their ignorance of better ways of achieving what they desire or as an indication of what they really do want? Does he help them accomplish their aims? From where

does the initiative come? From the residents in the community who request the resources of a community development worker or from the community development worker who suggests to members of the community a plan of action and asks for their endorsement?

Ideology

In an effort to overcome the failings of programs which rely solely on the opinions of experts and which tend toward cultural imperialism, programs focusing on humanizing the environment veer toward the opposite extreme. These community development workers want to hear everybody's opinion and are hesitant to judge the merits of one way of life over another. As a result, programs designed to humanize the environment are in danger of becoming aimless, lacking specified goals. However, in practice the community development workers do have to make definite decisions about specific problems.

For example, in the case of the Women's Overnight Shelter, after the woman has spent the night in the Shelter, how and where does she spend the following day and night? No organized program to lead her out of a life which requires the use of a shelter is provided. One reason for this is the lack of funds but more importantly the aim of the program is to help a woman sort out her life in her own way. If she was obliged to follow a specific course of action, she again would be subject to someone else's interpretation of what is

good for her. On the practical side of providing such a shelter, the community development workers have decided that these women do wish to revamp their life style, and will be able to do so once they are provided with a retreat where they can think quietly about their lives.³⁸

The community development process, as defined by the United Nations, implies a long-term and many faceted orientation. In order to improve the social, cultural and economic environment of a community and at the same time involve the residents, one needs an overall plan. An inherent aspect of planning is a latent or a manifest ideology, which provides the rationale for undertaking certain steps and making certain choices.

Programs designed to humanize the environment are leery of espousing an ideology for the reasons discussed above.³⁹ However as implied in the discussion of the Women's Overnight Shelter, a failing of these programs has been their inability to lay a concrete foundation for continued individual personality growth and community development. Olof Palme, Prime Minister of Sweden, summarizes the problem of trying to work without an ideology.

Without an ideological consciousness and a real pull behind practical politics,⁴⁰ you have accommodation only from one day to the next.

According to Francis Bregha the most sensible ideology for community development is that enlightened members of the middle class should arrange the whole society

to provide at least a comfortable environment for the poor.

Our society appears to be undergoing a divisive process of new character; some groups in it maintain a degree of ability for self-triggered transformation; others are merely changeable. The first ones belong to the upper and higher middle class and to various tribes of young activists, whereas the second category represents a growing number of more or less clearly defined "problem groups": the poor, the Indians, the Eskimos, the unemployed, the rural migrants, the aged, the physically or mentally handicapped, etc. The lower middle class seems to be rapidly drawn into this second category as its inability to secure proper housing, higher education, and better paying jobs is forcing it out of the so-called main stream of Canadian life. Thus while the number of relative masters of their own fate is shrinking, the number of dependents of all sorts is vastly increasing. For the latter, social change, based on self-help or mutual aid becomes more and more unrealistic as their powerlessness calls for environmentally triggered transformation depending, among other things on the attitude of people in the first category.⁴¹

Andre Saunier disagrees with Bregha's suggestion that the Establishment will ever want to give away the power that the poor will need if they are to have their share of the wealth of the country. While Bregha seems to suggest that the best society can provide for the poor is a comfortable environment, Saunier looks forward to a more positive type of change whereby the poor can take responsibility for their future.

This participation (of the poor) becomes all the more a basic requirement as the socio-economic inequalities reflect power inequalities. The underprivileged are indeed the forgotten people of the democracy of pressure groups since they have no organized spokesmen who can influence the current decisions affecting their living conditions. The challenge of equalization there is above all the challenge of participation. It is undoubtedly utopian to believe that the various Establishments want to take it up. The necessary dynamism and coherence may come only from the awareness and participation of the underprivileged themselves.⁴²

Bregha suggests that material poverty is the greatest hindrance that the poor face in their effort to become contributors to society. Saunier sees the lack of awareness and know-how as the greatest problems. These two different analysis of poverty raise the question about whether material or spiritual poverty is more detrimental to an individual. Bregha suggests that a person can not participate in the society when he is without food, education, employment and housing, and he needs an environment which will satisfy his physical requirements as he is unable to create this situation himself. Therefore, members of the middle class must undertake to provide for his basic needs.

Saunier's approach underlines the importance of the attitude of the poor. For example, if a welfare recipient views himself as poor, unemployed and lazy, then in reality he may convince others of his incompetence to work. If on the other hand, a community development worker can assist him in building his feelings of self-confidence and personal worth, then he can in fact start struggling to accomplish his goals. Once he has gained feelings of personal competence, he can begin building his own environment to satisfy his own needs.

Conclusion

If a community development worker follows Saunier's argument, that the poor need moral support, then he offers to help a poor person come to understand himself. However,

in the field of human relations, it is difficult to define how much commitment one person can offer another. Some of the most deprived members of society may need surrogate parents. Yet partly due to the large number of clients, partly due to a desire to encourage independence and partly due to the need to fulfill their own personal obligations, many community development workers must restrict the amount of attention that they can devote to any one individual. If a poor person needs constant help, he may wonder who really cares about him. This issue of the level of individual involvement occurs in every community development program, but becomes more of a problem in social development programs because the base of these operations is to humanize the environment. If these programs are unable to provide all the therapeutic attention a poor person needs, then they are subject to more criticism than programs which aim at political and economic development and which make no pretence of accomplishing personal change within the immediate context of their program.

Unfortunately, the amount of time alone that a community development worker spends with a poor family will not change their social, political and economic status. Members of the middle class with productive experiences from their background in education, good health, wage earning capacity and travel are in a position to arrange good services for the poor. However, these same qualities which are valuable in establishing such services are detrimental in

encouraging the poor to take the initiative in solving their own needs.

The Company of Young Canadians before 1970 attempted to involve the poor directly in the struggle to improve conditions in their community. Thus, for example, in Cape Breton, the poor were organized to boycott paying rent when their landlords raised the rate. However, it seems that the Company of Young Canadian leaders who tended to have middle class backgrounds saw improvements that should be made in the environment and then assigned the poor a role to play in the drama to oblige the power structure to make the required alterations. The leaders did devote much energy to gaining their ends but seldom achieved long-lasting tangible results. Secondly, when the poor were left on their own, they seemed unable to undertake community organizing by themselves.⁴³

The other types of social development programs reviewed in this thesis, (Edmonton Social Planning Council, Preventative Social Services, West 10 and others) have not attempted to simulate the bold CYC efforts to involve the local people. Instead, their programs concentrate on providing good, efficient services which are imaginative and flexible in meeting the needs of individuals. Since in projects like the Boyle Street Community Services Cooperative and the West 10 pilot project, welfare services such as counselling on family problems, alcoholism, employment,

education, social assistance and legal aid, available to the public are located in one building, there are many opportunities for the social workers and the community development workers to know the families in their area and to offer them an integrated and coordinated program of help. This personal knowledge and concern for the individual and his family does humanize the services.

Despite many dedicated attempts to help individuals overcome their problems, nevertheless the effectiveness of a single community development worker in dealing with such mammoth problems is limited. Except through his personal contacts, the community development worker is unable to provide new employment or housing opportunities for the poor. Generally his help is limited to moral support and friendship.

Programs attempting to combine the community development process with providing needed social services have a very difficult task. The theory of these programs is based on the idea that individuals have the ability and the right to make decisions about developments that will affect their lives. Yet in practice, the most concrete and fastest way of humanizing the environment is to provide good care services. Short term goals prevent the usage of the time required to teach the poor the administrative skills required to operate an efficient service centre. However, in providing these new services, members of the middle class do attempt to ensure that priority will be placed on individual needs.

Marx writes that the attempts to humanize the environment without concomitantly destroying the capitalist system is like trying to create a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. According to Marx such a situation is impossible because by definition, the bourgeoisie depend on the proletariat to run the means of production which create the former's wealth.

They want to improve the conditions of every member of society, even that of the most favoured. Hence they habitually appeal to society at large without distinction of class, nay by preference to the ruling class. For how can people when once they understand their system, fail to see in it the best possible plan of the best possible state in society?

Hence they reject all political and especially all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means and endeavour by small experiments and by the force of example to pave the way for a new social gospel.

They attack every principle of existing society. Hence they are full of the most valuable materials for enlightenment of the working class. The practical measures proposed by them . . . point solely to the disappearance of class antagonism.⁴¹

SUMMARY

Programs designed to humanize the environment illustrate many of the moral decisions that a community development worker must make as he undertakes to solicit the support of the residents in bringing about social change. By establishing a supportive environment where the personal needs of each individual are met, social development programs attempt to assist individuals in the accomplishment of their goals.

Social development programmers hope that by involving individuals in the decision process on issues which will affect their lives, individuals will learn to create the best environment for themselves.

The group of citizens who most need a supportive environment are the poor. As a group, the poor have had the least amount of experience which would enable them to administer programs needed to improve the quality of life in their environment. Therefore, the social development programmers have to make a decision whether the best interests of the poor will be served by providing them with services they need or by educating them to organize for their own social wants. Limitations of funds and time usually oblige these community development workers to give priority to needed services although in theory they would prefer to educate the poor.

As a result of the orientation to provide needed services, the social development programs are limited in their scope as community development programs. These programs tend to lose a sense of direction because they aim to encourage each individual to plan his own life, and do not relate the individual's course of action to the building of a community or a nation. Secondly, they do not provide economic opportunities needed by the poor to gain a measure of control over a materialistic society.

This level of community development emphasizes the importance of improving the quality of life for each

resident. All community development programmers would agree that ultimately the purpose of a community development program is to improve the quality of life for each individual. However, there is no wide spread agreement about how one should accomplish this goal.

The programs to humanize the environment have chosen one general type of strategy, based on the premise that improving the life of a community comes about through a one to one relationship. One community development worker tries to build up the self-confidence of one person who may want to create a more supportive environment in the future. The moral choices such programs to humanize the environment make, raise many questions about the whole community development process. For example, can one humanize the environment without at the same time creating economic and educational opportunities? Does an individual have responsibilities to the total society in order to receive some of its benefits? Within our present society, do the poor have the background necessary to join with the governmental authorities in the programs designed to humanize the environment?

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL ASPECT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

When one reviews the United Nations definition of community development, the highly political nature of community development becomes apparent. The community development process is to unite the efforts of the people themselves with those of the government authorities to improve various aspects of community life, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to the national progress. In order to unite the people with the governmental authorities, the citizens need a mechanism by which they can voice their opinion and secondly by which they can modify proposed development plans. In Canada, the election of Provincial and Federal Governments approximately every four years provides some measure of indicating popular reaction to a particular government and its general policy for developing the nation. However, this mechanism is very inflexible and periodically popular movements have attempted to change the concept of government by offering the electorate a new party with specific proposals for the future of the country.

In Canada, a popular movement which gained enough strength to form the government of a province was the

Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) party of Saskatchewan. The policies espoused by the CCF were founded in the ideals of improving the quality of life for every citizen through the elimination of capitalism. A study of the CCF can contribute to a greater understanding of the concept community development to bring about social change through political action. Firstly, the citizens were able to vote on general policies designed by the CCF party for the future development of Saskatchewan. Secondly, the residents themselves decided to tackle the problems of improving their environment by forming a political party to develop the province in accordance with socialist guidelines. Thirdly the CCF government provided integrated programs for the future of the province based on policies of citizen participation, public education and cooperatives. As a result of their integrated and comprehensive approach to improving the quality of life in the province, the CCF was able to set precedents in the field of social welfare.

The extent of the CCF policies was limited by the fact that a Provincial Government can legislate only over matters of provincial jurisdiction according to the British North America Act. Provincial governments have no control over matters such as banking, fiscal policy, transportation costs, import and export tariffs and regulations, foreign trade with and foreign aid from other countries. All other countries which have attempted to utilize their resources by

soliciting the initiative of the people have used these factors to strengthen the building of their nation.

Secondly, the changes which a CCF party could legislate were somewhat bound by the traditions established both in the province and in the nation, Canada. The popular movements which formed the governments of entire countries began new regimes and emphasized their "newness" in contrast with the previous rulers. For example, in Cuba and China a revolution severed the ruling traditions of the country, and in former colonies the removal of the colonial regime left administrative and political positions for the local people to fill.

In Saskatchewan, the agricultural roots of the province were well established and the residents were concerned about creating an economic stability in agriculture and about improving the quality of life. They did not foresee building a new way of life by seceding from Canada and building a new socialistic nation. Nor did they advocate rebuilding the economic foundations of their way of life.

The history of the CCF as a movement which attempted to unite the residents of the province with the Government and its vision for the future is unique in Canada. While to my knowledge, the CCF did not use the term community development, their practices emphasized improving the social and economic conditions of the province by citizen participation, self-help programs, government assistance, public education and cooperatives. These devices have all been used in

community development programs and are included in the United Nation's definition of community development.

PROBLEM DEFINITION

Soon after Saskatchewan was settled, the problem of an unstable economy haunted the farmers. Since their crop was wheat, any natural disaster such as drought, flooding, hail or frost could destroy the family's income for that year. Secondly, fluctuations in the world market price of wheat added to the unpredictable nature of the economy. Attempts to diversify by adopting mixed farming were inhibited by the fact that in good years tremendous profits could be made by concentrating on wheat.

Another big problem for the Saskatchewan farmers was the increasing cost of farming. Small individual farmers could not compete with large-scale operations because they could not afford the implements necessary for large-scale agriculture. By the end of the depression, family farms began to decline and to be replaced by agri-businesses, often owned by Americans.

As the family farm no longer offered opportunities to young people, they left the farms and searched for work in the urban areas. Since Saskatchewan has a limited number of industries, gradually many of the population sought employment opportunities in more industrialized sectors of Canada.

With the general decline of Saskatchewan's population, many of the problems described in Chapter 2¹ beset the province. In the thirties, the farmers who supported the CCF movement hoped to control the economic development of their province through their own political party. With a party that represented their interest in the legislature, the supporters of the CCF hoped that reforms to protect the farmers against the industrial interests of eastern Canada would be enacted.

The CCF supporters described the other parties as instruments of capitalist interests and therefore unable to "serve as agents of social reconstruction".² Thus they saw the need for a party which strove for "political power in order to put an end to this capitalist domination of our political life."³ In working to build their own political party, the CCF members relied on the concept of self-help, a principle often used in the community development process.

The Regina Manifesto, written in 1933 by the founding convention of the CCF, provided both; a) a general analysis of the reasons for the problems besetting Canada and, b) a strategy to end these difficulties. In 1933, society was described as "marked by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity, by chaotic waste and instability,"⁴ and in an age of plenty, condemning the "great mass of people to poverty and insecurity."⁵ . . . "Power" had "become more and more concentrated into the hands of a small irresponsible minority of financiers and

industrialists who pursue their own private interests at the expense of the majority".⁶ The CCF concluded that "when private profit is the main stimulus to economic growth, our society oscillates between periods of feverish prosperity in which the main benefits go to speculators and profiteers and of catastrophic depression in which the common man's normal state of insecurity and hardship is accentuated."⁷

STRATEGY

Regina Manifesto

The Regina Manifesto presents a strategy compatible with the United Nation's definition of community development. The ultimate goal of the CCF was the creation of a society "based, not on making profits but on supplying human needs."⁸ In order to create this kind of society, the CCF proposed to "replace the present capitalist system with its inherent injustice and inhumanity by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition and in which genuine democratic self-government based upon economic equality will be made possible."⁹

For the CCF party, improvement in the social, economic and cultural conditions of the province were possible only if a socialist inspired government provided leadership to guide the citizens in the building of their

province. In order to create this new society, the CCF saw the need for wide scale planning for the development of the province and close contact with the citizens through the democratic system of government. In the Regina Manifesto, the CCF outlines its general orientation for creating a society where the individual can lead a richer life:

We aim to replace the present capitalist system with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition; and in which genuine, democratic self government, based upon economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by the ideal of a cooperative commonwealth supported by a majority of the people. We do not believe in change by violence.¹⁰

The Manifesto continued to outline the CCF philosophy for the future development of Canada as follows:

We believe that these evils [of capitalism] can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people. . . . What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen.¹¹

In order to bring about this new way of life, the Regina Manifesto proposed a "planned socialized order to make possible the most efficient development of the national resources and the most equitable distribution of national income." The Federal Government would have control of the financial machinery and insurances to supply productive equipment for socially desirable purposes. Other items such as transportation, communication and electricity should also

be controlled by the government so that a new socialist order can be built.

Two themes which recur throughout the Regina Manifesto are: 1) the desire to replace the capitalist system with the social democracy and, 2) the attempt to establish an all inclusive, integrated, and coordinated policy for the development of Canada. This strategy was designed to create a society where the individual could self-actualize by contributing to the welfare of his fellow citizens.

The exact period for which the Manifesto inspired the strategy of the CCF is difficult to determine. Higginbotham states that before the CCF formed the government in 1944, the Manifesto had become obsolete and was referred to only as a historic document.¹² The CCF party did not write another Manifesto until 1956 and Young writes that for many of the dedicated party workers the society described in the Manifesto was a source of inspiration.¹³ Even today some members of the party advocate a return to the vigour of the Regina Manifesto.¹⁴ In discussing the Manifesto today, the NDP in Saskatchewan writes:

It is at once a statement of the principles underlying a democratic socialist movement, a program of action and a long range policy for building a planned economy.

Time and the battle won for the people of Canada by the C.C.F. legislators have removed some of the isolated problems mentioned in the Manifesto. Nor do all the words and assumptions used fit the problems of the 1970's.

But the purpose for which the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was created still remains to be accomplished. The purpose was clearly stated in the concluding words of the Manifesto:

'No C.C.F. Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of a Cooperative Commonwealth.'¹⁵

In attempting to assess the Regina Manifesto as a statement of the CCF's ideology, it is important to note that almost from its inception the CCF was divided into two factions. Young calls the first segment the party whose prime concern was to ensure the election of a CCF government. The second part is called the movement whose main effort concentrated on bringing about a socialist democracy in Canada, as outlined in the Manifesto. As early as 1950, some members of the CCF complained that the education committees in the constitutencies of Saskatchewan had evolved into election machinery solely, lacking an ideological consciousness and therefore were unable to educate the public about socialism.¹⁷

The movement part of the CCF has encouraged the party caucus in the legislature to enact socialist policies and to raise the ideological awareness of the electorate. The parliamentary members have attempted to weigh these urgings with the general mood of the electorate and to enact legislation that will serve the interests of the party and the public at the same time. Thus when one evaluates the CCF policy, two aspects become important; one is the

political party which wants to be returned to office and second is the political movement which is inspired by the social justice espoused in the Manifesto. Much of the political organizing in the grass roots and general support for the legislative wing of the CCF party comes from the movement segment. Nevertheless, the history of both the provincial CCF and the federal CCF confirms the dominance of the party over the movement.

Economic

In the early years of their rule, the CCF government strove to establish a more equal distribution of the riches of the province. This distribution was defined as the most suitable method of improving the economic conditions of the province. Therefore, the government undertook to provide employment and services to people and areas where private enterprise would not invest. The soldiers returning from World War Two experienced difficulties finding employment so the government built and operated factories for tanning, and manufacturing wool blankets and shoes. These factories were designed to use local raw materials for the manufacture of goods sellable on the Saskatchewan market at a lower price than imported goods and secondly to provide work for Saskatchewan people. While the three ventures mentioned above ceased to operate, others such as a paper box factory, paint spraying company, brick plant, and sodium sulphate industries provided services and employment for the

people of the province. Although some members of the CCF hoped that this trend of government ownership would be continued, some of the CCF politicians had changed their opinion.

Even in 1944, some CCF supporters, including Mr. Clarence Fines, Minister of Finance and Provincial Treasurer, were stating that free enterprise should operate under competitive conditions but that all monopolies should be owned by the government. Fines argued that many types of business which involved risk, initiative and competition could best be operated by individuals and private corporations. Government in business should be limited to transportation, electric power, natural gas and banking.¹⁸ Perhaps his approach was a reflection of the party element of the CCF which sought electoral support by presenting immediate solutions to the problems of today.¹⁹

By the mid 1950's, Fines' approach to economic development predominated and the Government provided incentives to private enterprise to develop natural resources such as oil, potash and uranium. According to Higginbotham, the government did make money on its sales with an \$8 million cement factory and a \$16 million steel mill using scrap iron.²⁰ However, the concept of encouraging economic development through the use of incentive grants is not socialism as proposed in the Regina Manifesto but instead is a strategy very similar to that used in the DREE programs.

Apart from the limited industrial development, the mainstay of the Saskatchewan economy has been agriculture. Since the CCF won support from the farming population, most of whom remembered the anguish of the depression, the government enacted legislation to improve the economic condition of the family farm. Firstly, no farmer was to be reduced below a basic one hundred and sixty acres due to his failure to pay his debts. Secondly, if his total income fell below six dollars an acre, he was exempted from interest on the mortgage. In an effort to improve farming in general, the CCF government established seed and fodder banks where the surplus from the good years was stored so that drought would not ravage the province. Thirdly, the government raised the appropriations for scientific farming and increased the number of agricultural field representatives.²¹ Lastly, the CCF government applied pressure on the Federal Government to establish permanently federal marketing of wheat and to build a dam on the South Saskatchewan River.²²

In an attempt to understand the present situation in agriculture and eventually to devise a long term program, the CCF government commissioned, in 1956, the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life. Their report forecast the demise of the family farms and predicted that farms would become larger and farmers fewer in number. Therefore, the Commission recommended that the government find alternative opportunities in new occupations for farmers who would find

family farms uneconomic.²³ As mentioned earlier, the CCF throughout its term in office did make some attempts to industrialize the province in preparation for the future, and as a means to improve the economic conditions of the province.

Social

However limited the achievements of the CCF government in improving the economy of the province, it was able to improve the quality of life for many citizens. Building from the principle of "people doing collectively what they could not individually,"²⁴ the CCF was able to introduce many welfare schemes to benefit all members of the province. In this process the CCF adhered to their general policy of developing an overall plan and approaching the citizens to endorse the program at the time of elections.

Many of the CCF strategies improved the quality of life in rural Saskatchewan and at the same time created economic opportunities for the citizens. For example, the CCF government established crown corporations to distribute gas and power to rural communities, to construct highways and to provide bus service from the outlying areas of the province to urban Saskatchewan.²⁵

The electricity and gas offered new possibilities for more modern methods of farming and at the same time introduced modern appliances into the home. With the possibility of harnessing the energy of gas and electricity,

the rural citizens had more opportunities for leisure time. Similarly with improved connections to community centres, many new opportunities became possible for the citizens. Efficient highway systems permitted the transport of farm produce to city markets, the use of town medical and educational facilities, the increased contact between town and country citizens and the tourist industry to flourish. Through the tourist industry, some farmers had more opportunities to supplement their income.²⁶

As the road network improved, Mr. W. S. Lloyd, Minister of Education, was able to reorganize the education system to make facilities more accessible to rural residents. While in office, the CCF government was able to improve the quality of education throughout the province. Many one room schools were replaced by composite high schools, equipped with modern facilities and able to offer academic, vocational and commercial courses of study. Text books were provided free of charge from grades 1 to 8.

In 1949, student loans were made available to students wishing to continue their education. Education broadcasts were programmed over the radio to supplement the curriculum. Also, the standards for teachers were raised and their salaries increased.²⁷

An important component of the community development process is the education of the public so that they can organize to fulfill their own needs. The CCF government

attempted to offer the public a variety of programs which would be useful in their effort to improve the quality of life. In the school curriculum, courses in cooperatives were offered. For students who could not continue their education on a full time basis, or for those who wished to upgrade, many adult education programs were made available either through written correspondence courses, or through centrally located schools throughout the province. Also the Department of Extension at the University of Saskatchewan sponsored a variety of community forums and leadership workshops.

The CCF's best known program to improve the quality of life was the universal medicare plan. As early as 1947, a hospitalization plan was established whereby the bills for public ward hospitals would be paid by the government, through a tax levied on all residents. Under this program services included public ward accommodation with meals, special diets, necessary nursing care, the use of operating, case and emergency rooms, surgical dressings and casts, X-ray and physical therapy treatments, anesthetics, drugs and equipment. At the same time, a socialized health care service was established for old age pensioners, blind welfare recipients, and those drawing mother's allowances and their dependents. Secondly, grants to municipalities and health regions to provide for doctors and construction of hospitals were established. In 1945, an air ambulance service was established which carried the sick in rural areas to the

nearest hospital. Lastly, at this time the diagnosis and treatment of cancer was provided free of charge.²⁸

In 1946, the CCF established in the Swift Current region, a medical care plan which became the model for the province-wide program established in 1962. At this time, a province-wide health insurance program was not established because the Federal and Provincial Governments could not agree on sharing the costs involved in a national health insurance plan, and the CCF government stated that the province was too poor to support a province wide plan on its own.²⁹

Finally, in 1962, after a bitter controversy including a popular election, the CCF government was ready to launch a province-wide medicare plan. All citizens contributed to the plan so that all the costs were spread over the entire population, instead of being borne by the sick alone. The premiums were compulsory and covered a complete range of benefits and the plan was administered by a public commission. Incentives were provided to ensure a better distribution of medical personnel between the urban and rural areas and to encourage group practice among the physicians.³⁰ After a struggle from 1959-62, the College of Physicians and Surgeons gained two concessions; a) that the doctors were permitted to practice outside the act and, b) that private insurance plans were permitted. The final draft of the act ensured that the patient had the freedom to choose his doctor and vice versa,

the doctor had the right to choose his own patient.³¹

As in the case of the medical health care program, the entry of the CCF government into low cost insurance in everything except life and hail, provided services at a lower cost than individuals could procure from private companies. The CCF government undertook to educate the public about the merits of state insurance through offering such an option. Despite threats from the Liberal opposition, none of these policies were revoked when the Liberal party formed the Government.

Perhaps the most innovative program of the CCF government was the establishment in 1957 of the Centre for Community Studies, headed by Mr. W. Baker. The purpose of this institute is stated as follows: "to undertake social research and to provide information and advice on the problems of social and economic development."

Underlying these objectives is the hope that useful knowledge about man in his changing environment will result from the scientific study of practical problems.³²

The establishment of the Centre symbolized a continuing interest in the future of small communities and the question of whether or not they should be saved. Two wings, a) the research and, b) the adult training, were created to grapple with the problems that small communities faced and to provide technical and research services for cooperatives and Government departments.

While the Centre did not establish a program for

foreign students, individuals from South East Asia, Africa, and India visited to explore the community council concept as a strategy for dealing with social change. The purpose of these community councils was to provide a forum where concerned people could discuss the future of their small community.³³

Local Involvement

The specific legislation which the CCF government enacted improved the quality of life for many residents. Some of these advantages included improved medical and educational services, better transportation via the bus company and the improved highways, electricity and gas, land grants to farmers, housing built by a crown corporation and cheaper insurance for a wider coverage. However, from the perspective of community development, the important aspect of these improvements was the cooperation and active support from many citizens that the government was able to solicit. The CCF government, during the years from 1944 to 1964, involved a significant number of citizens.

Part of the CCF government's success in involving the people was because the party became part of the pioneer tradition in developing the province. In the settling of rural Saskatchewan, the residents learnt to band together to acquire services which they needed. Energetic farmers filled positions on local government councils, on school boards, on hospital boards and on

committees to procure the services of doctors or better aid for farmers. At first the leaders relied on the power of cooperatives to improve their life style. However, soon these leaders realized that in order to control the economic development of their province, they needed to build a political party that would represent their interests in the legislature. They chose to organize the CCF. Thus Lipset concludes that the CCF party became a part of the political tradition of Saskatchewan.

Political participation of ordinary citizens in Saskatchewan is not restricted to intermittently recurring elections. Politics is organized to be a daily concern and responsibility of the common citizen.³⁴

The active members of the CCF were mainly experienced local leaders who were already officials of other organizations and who earned their status from their role in the community and not through their membership in the CCF. In their capacity as local government officials and managers of cooperatives, these leaders knew the needs of the community and also the affect of government policies on the rural areas. They used their affiliation with the party as a direct channel of communication to the legislature and cabinet to register complaints and to make suggestions.

The party organization was highly structured and attempted to involve as many people as possible at the different levels. The smallest unit was the poll where a few CCF supporters attempted to educate the voters about the merits of their party. Above the poll was the constituency

whose typical duties included the following: organizing meetings, nominating candidates, collecting funds to support the party, soliciting new memberships, sending telegrams of protest to Ottawa, sending delegates and resolutions to the Provincial Convention and Provincial Council and establishing a liaison between the MLA and his constituency.

At the annual or biannual convention, members from the constituency and the CCF Members of Parliament met to determine the party's policy. This convention had ultimate authority over the entire party and all members of the CCF had a voice in the development of party policy. However, the parliamentary wing gradually acquired greater power at the convention. The superior oratory and information sources of the cabinet ministers enabled them to suggest appropriate resolutions. For example, at the 1948 convention some members were suggesting that the oil and gas should be nationalized as this had been a traditional demand of the CCF. Two cabinet ministers prepared with statistical data convinced the convention that the oil and gas fields were not proven commercial fields and that as such were too risky an investment for the government. Occasionally, the situation was reversed and the government and party leaders were voted down at the convention. When this occurred, government policy had to be changed.³⁵

The members of the opposition in the legislature were not well enough informed to discuss thoroughly the merits

and faults of the proposed CCF legislation. Instead, government policy and future plans were scrutinized by the Provincial Council whose membership included CCF party members, cabinet ministers, and federal CCF MPs. The function of this council was to ensure a high standard of performance of ministers, party administrators and civil servants. Through the mechanism of both the Provincial Council and the Annual Convention, CCF policy could be influenced by any concerned citizen who wished to join the CCF party. Since many members of the CCF party aimed their prestige from their leadership in the community, and not the CCF, they felt free to offer their opinions to the cabinet ministers. Lipset concludes that the members made an invaluable contribution to maintaining a democratic party.³⁶

Through this highly organized political structure, "the CCF in Saskatchewan succeeded in involving more people in direct political activity than any other party in American or Canadian history, with the possible exception of certain similar farmers' parties."³⁷ In 1945, the party had a dues-paying membership of 8% of the electorate and in 1964 had a membership figure that surpassed the record established in 1945.³⁸ This party organization proved an effective mechanism by which the CCF maintained contact with the grass roots support, and therefore was able to involve the local people with the governmental authorities in building up the province.

The civil service represented the government to the people at a more official level than did the CCF party supporters. It seems that much of the contact with the citizens that the CCF government enjoyed was due to the high calibre civil service. While Lipset states that the first CCF cabinet relied on the expertise of the civil servants appointed by the former Liberal government and did not replace these people,³⁹ over the years, the CCF government attracted their own very capable men. Firstly the CCF government gave their civil servants more freedom and cooperation than could be found in other governments. Secondly, they encouraged the civil servants to return to university and to analyze their experiences in Saskatchewan by providing generous terms for leave of absence and bursaries.⁴⁰ Thus many left wing intellectuals from all parts of the Western World joined the CCF civil service because they found that the CCF espoused their ideals and that the CCF supported their efforts to put these ideals into practice.⁴¹

Cooperatives

Through active support of the cooperative movement the CCF forged another bond with the citizens. The cooperative movement was based on the self-help principles which did not violate the farmers' desire for independence but which did ease some of the economic crisis. As mentioned earlier, the CCF supporters were often leaders in the

cooperative movement, and the link between the cooperatives and the CCF party seemed a natural one. After taking office, the CCF party and government continued to promote cooperatives. While most of the cooperative societies had been formed before 1944, the CCF government strengthened provincial legislation in favour of cooperatives. They passed acts guaranteeing loans made by the credit unions and permitted linking of financial resources of all the cooperatives. Secondly, they established fisheries, lumber and fur industries as crown corporations which were later reorganized to become cooperatives. Twenty nine cooperative farms were established, although by 1964 thirteen had dissolved and ten had become large family farms made up of nuclear family units. Civil servants travelled throughout the province helping communities establish or strengthen their cooperatives. Lastly, the CCF Government facilitated centralized planning by giving definite power to the Department of Cooperatives and Cooperative Development.⁴²

Since the CCF government grew out of the demands of an active segment of the population, many people agreed that, "We are building socialism through the Wheat Pool, through our UFC local as well as through the CCF. They are all part of one movement, the 'people's movement'."⁴³ As a result of building from this wide grass roots movement, the CCF government was able to involve many citizens in the development of their policy. Some shared in the development of the cooperatives; others forged careers in the civil service; others became active in the CCF party; farmers benefited from the farm protection legislation and the populace at large

benefited from the medicare and insurance programs.

EVALUATION

Introduction

When one attempts to evaluate the performance of the CCF government with what might have been, one delves into a very speculative area. On the one hand, one acknowledges the improvements in the quality of life brought about by programs such as medicare and insurance programs, improved education systems, assistance for farmers and so on. On the other hand, one recognizes the overall poverty of rural Saskatchewan and the inability to develop the resources adequately in order to become a self-supporting province.

It is not within the context of this thesis to determine whether the failure to arrest the decline of rural Saskatchewan was a reflection of particular policies implemented or not implemented by the CCF governments, or whether it was a general trend in North America which few governments have attempted to curtail and which is characterized by a failure to save the family farm. In this section, the programs developed by the CCF government will be reviewed and an attempt will be made to evaluate their effectiveness as a method of community development based on the premise that real social change is possible only through political action.

From a community development perspective, the important questions to evaluate the CCF performance in Saskatchewan are 1) the improvements in the economic, social

and cultural life of the communities and 2) the process by which these policies were devised. As in the discussion of the other two levels of community development, this one, too, is subject to personal interpretations about the merits of various choices.

The CCF constantly faced the problem of the future of small farms and rural communities. Some citizens argued in favour of saving the small family farm as a meaningful way of life. Others argued that inevitably in the face of demands for efficient large scale farming, this way of life must perish as relic of pioneer Saskatchewan. In their statements, the CCF proclaimed the value of the family farm and rural communities, but their policies were to benefit all Saskatchewan and ironically at the expense of the small communities.

Agriculture

The CCF decided that improvements in the economic condition of farmers were possible only through large scale farming. "The CCF government clearly accepted agrarian cooperatives as the pragmatic solution to the economic problems of the farmer, and at no time during their twenty years in office, made any significant attempt to change this orientation."⁴⁴ However, cooperative farming never became widespread in Saskatchewan.

Lipset explains this apparent contradiction as follows: "No one who knows the Saskatchewan farmers could

realistically suggest the socialization of the land as an alternative to CCF agriculture policy."⁴⁵ Since the most active CCF members tended to be prosperous farmers, the CCF government was bound to promote policies that all farmers, including party members, would accept. In the process of gaining popular support, the CCF tended to mitigate socialistic strategies as outlined in the Regina Manifesto.

All farmers shared in common concerns about mortgages, interest rates, the cost of manufactured goods and the price of wheat. However, the prosperous farmers did not want to equalize the position of all farmers at their own expense. As a result of CCF support from prosperous farmers, the government policy did not deal with the problems of the tenant and smaller farmers. In fact, the farm security legislation made it more difficult for the poor farmer than for the wealthy farmer to purchase more land. The land owners preferred to sell to buyers with greater assets since the government protected farmers who could not pay their mortgage debts. Similarly the policy of guaranteeing a minimum price for wheat benefited the large farmer whose cost of production per bushel of wheat was less than the small farmer.⁴⁶

Again in their support for the cooperatives, the CCF policies benefited the wealthy farmers. The poorer ones could neither afford to pay cash for their merchandise nor could they wait for the year end returns as the cooperative

demanded. Their need for immediate cash and borrowed money forced them to patronize local private enterprise merchants who exploited their need. Wealthy farmers recognized the benefits of marketing and consumer cooperatives and utilized sympathetic government policy to strengthen this kind of cooperative. They did not have a need for cooperative farms and the poor farmers never took the necessary initiative to band together to form large cooperative farms.

To develop a self-sufficient and fairly stable economic base, Saskatchewan needed to diversify both into industry and into crops, other than wheat. The CCF's role in assisting this diversification was small, and even today Saskatchewan still has an unstable economy. Their limited strategy in this regard partly can be explained by the dilemma a political party faces in choosing between immediate short term profits and necessary short term sacrifice for long term benefits.

In the 1950's, agriculture was based on a competitive economy so that the individual farmer had no affect on the market price of his goods. Therefore, the individual farmer had no personal advantage from restricting his output in an attempt to raise the price for his goods. When the price of wheat was high, he and all the other farmers with a large crop of wheat profited more than those who had diversified into mixed farming. Thus few farmers were tempted to abandon wheat farming. Secondly, the initial cost of diversifying proved too dear for the average farmer and the

CCF government had no program to compensate the farmers for the expense of growing different crops. Even today previously federally supported programs to entice farmers into mixed farming are in jeopardy because of the temptation to grow wheat due to its present value on the world market.⁴⁷

However, if the Saskatchewan agricultural economy is to become stable, it is imperative that the farmers diversify. CCF support depends upon prosperous farmers who profit most from the production of wheat in good years. Any attempt to force them to forego immediate profits in the interests of the economic stability of the province, would alienate them from the party. In evaluating all CCF policies to improve the economic condition of farmers, one notes that the income of the prosperous farmers increased during the twenty year reign of the CCF, and that at the same time, the family farm declined as a viable unit of production.⁴⁸

Industry

As more and more residents of Saskatchewan required employment opportunities outside agriculture, the CCF government attempted to industrialize the province. At first, the government established crown corporations and marketing boards as a means to improve the economic opportunities available to the citizens. However, by the mid 1950's, the government preferred to entice private enterprise through loans to industrialize the province. Thus government initiated companies such as the cement mill, Sask Air,

Northern Lumber Marketing Board, Saskatchewan Sodium and Sulphate mining operations and Saskatchewan Clay Products, all were sold to private enterprise. Secondly, incentive grants, very similar to those offered by DREE were provided for private enterprise willing to locate in the province. Thus, private enterprise developed mineral resources, such as uranium, copper, zinc, oil and potash, and paid the Saskatchewan government higher royalties than other provincial governments were demanding at the time.⁴⁹

Industrialization of Saskatchewan was essential if the province was to offer a higher standard of living to its residents. In evaluating the merits of private enterprise over cooperatives or crown corporations as the best means of improving the economic opportunities available to the citizens, one is asking the same questions as were raised in the evaluation of DREE. Here again, the long term benefits of planned and state owned enterprises outweigh those of short term private enterprise.

The CCF decision to guarantee loans to private enterprise rather than to establish state owned industries is the opposite of the strategy proposed in the Regina Manifesto. Neither Tyre⁵⁰ nor Higginbotham⁵¹ explain this change in CCF policy. One possible explanation may be the cost involved in establishing state owned industries. Saskatchewan is a poor province and the government may well have lacked the capital required to establish these

industries and to provide social and welfare projects at the same time. Secondly, the province of Saskatchewan is unable to borrow money from other socialist governments, had any been willing to lend money. Thirdly, workers living in Saskatchewan would expect wages comparable to those offered in other parts of Canada and therefore the CCF government could not harness the manual labour of a majority of citizens to build a state owned factory as might a country like China. Lastly, an objective of the CCF was to provide more employment opportunities for the residents. Since the CCF could not develop the economy of the province as quickly as private enterprise was willing to do so, the CCF seemed to opt for immediate employment opportunities rather than long term state development of the province.

Labour Legislation

Whatever the limits of private enterprise development of the province, the CCF government made an attempt to protect the rights of the workers who would be hired in these industries, and at the same time, without harming the prospect of attracting these industries which would offer employment opportunities. The Trade Union Act was designed by the unions at the request of the CCF government and made collective bargaining compulsory on the part of the employer, outlawed various anti-labour practices, placed the onus of proving employees were not discharged for union activity on the employer and permitted union organizing. Lipset describes

this act as "probably the most pro-union legislation in the democratic capitalist world."⁵²

The strength of the Trade Union Act was tested by a box factory owner. He tried to interfere with unionizing activities, was brought before the Labour Relations Board and found guilty of contravening the law. In his case, the factory was expropriated by the government, although no other factories were expropriated even when their owners were found guilty of violating the Trade Union Act.⁵³

The labour legislation in Saskatchewan provides the least amount of restraint and intervention.⁵⁴ Conciliation service is not imposed on either negotiating party nor are the parties restrained from resorting to work stoppage while an industrial relations officer is attempting to conciliate a dispute. While there is no compulsory arbitration in Saskatchewan, arrangements can be made for voluntary arbitration. The theory behind this approach to settling contract disputes is that both parties must negotiate seriously because the government will not intervene and that the strongest party will win.

The other aspect of Saskatchewan labour legislation deals with union security. The legislation covers, firstly, compulsory check-off⁵⁵ meaning that the employer agrees to serve as a dues collection agency for the union, deducting union dues and fees from each member;⁵⁶ and secondly, maintenance of membership⁵⁷ meaning that the employee is not

required to join the union at his place of work. If the worker does join the union, he must remain a member in good standing; otherwise the employer agrees to dismiss him. The employee can resign from the union without jeopardy to his job, at the expiring time of the present contract between the union and the company.⁵⁸

Pro-union legislation would be either in favour of, a) a closed shop where employees must be members of a union before they can work in a shop or, b) a union shop where all workers must join the union. In the plant where maintenance of membership is enforced, some workers may not be members of the union. When the fate of an arbitration settlement depends on the vote of all employees, non-union workers may be reluctant to strike since they will receive no union strike pay. If non-union workers form the majority, then the decision may be to accept the present offer.⁵⁹

Beside assisting the trade union organizing, the CCF strengthened the economic position of the workers. The minimum wage was raised to become one of the highest in Canada and the work week was limited to forty-four hours. Vacations with pay were provided for as follows: two weeks for full time employees and after five years accumulated work, three weeks; and eight public holidays for full time employees with the exception of hotel, restaurant and hospital workers who were paid for holidays at one and a half times their regular pay. Waiting periods before

receiving workmen's compensation were removed and the payment was increased to 75% of the regular pay to become the highest rate on the continent.⁶⁰

In evaluating the labour laws passed by the CCF government, one notes again the dilemma that the government faced. On the one hand, Saskatchewan residents needed the employment opportunities that private enterprise offered. On the other hand, CCF supporters inspired by the social justice espoused in the Regina Manifesto, wanted to limit capitalist exploitation of the workers. The CCF party compromised on this issue so that private enterprise would locate in the province and improve the employment opportunities for the residents and at the same time so that Saskatchewan workers would be supported by the most progressive labour legislation found in Canada.

The CCF policy facilitated the industrialization and urbanization of Saskatchewan. Improved transportation systems and more prosperous farmers travelled to the large towns and left the smaller commercial centres to perish because their quality and variety of merchandise was inferior to that offered in the larger centres. With the coming of electricity and thereby radio, television and telephone, and the higher standards of education, rural students learnt of the material prosperity available in the cities for people with sufficient education and left the small family farms which could not provide the cash needed

to purchase many consumer goods. The industries attracted to Saskatchewan during the CCF reign provided some employment opportunities for these people and tempted some off the farm. Thus, CCF policies designed to improve the quality of life in rural Saskatchewan ironically contributed to the demise of the small rural communities.

Social

While the CCF program did not redistribute the wealth of the province, their programs did improve the quality of services available. For example, the medicare plan did end the anxiety about financing medical expenses. However, wage earners who were unpaid during the time they visited the health clinics, were reluctant to take advantage of the health care plan until they were too sick to work. To eliminate this problem, the CCF could have introduced legislation that workers should be paid during their visits to the doctors.

In terms of contributing to a greater understanding of the community development process, the most important aspect of the CCF reign was their method of public education. The effectiveness of their education program is also difficult to evaluate. Part of the CCF public education program started with the presentation of a definite party platform during the time of an election. For example, during the 1960 election campaign, the CCF party outlined the merits of the medicare program. The doctors and their supporters indicated the

faults of such a policy. Through such a public debate, the interested public therefore had an opportunity to grapple with the question and to make their decision known at the polls. Secondly, through the party organization at the constituency level, the CCF party supporters talked with the electorate on an individual basis about the CCF policy.

Another forum where the CCF was able to educate some members of the public, was the community councils, established by the Centre of Community Studies. For example, in the town of Esterhalzy, the community council discussed the value of developing the nearby potash mine.⁶¹ Davis suggests that through attempts to introduce specific policies rather than to allow the townsfolk to come to their own conclusion, the community councils became part of the CCF political machinery and thereby limited their effectiveness in communicating with the general public.⁶² Whatever the Centre's function in supporting definite social change programs, it did permit more possibilities for public discussion about the future of a community than heretofore had been known. In the process of these discussions, interested townsfolk could clarify their ideas about the merits of programs designed for their community.

Lastly, the CCF government showed the rest of Canada that programs for medical health insurance and automobile insurance were possible. Secondly, the Centre for Community Studies provided a model for studying social change around

the world and many people examined the Centre with the hope of instigating a similar institution in their native land. While in many instances no direct links exist between social policies in the rest of Canada and the CCF example in Saskatchewan, undoubtedly many CCF programs in Saskatchewan did inspire many citizens about possibilities for improving life in all parts of Canada.

ASSUMPTIONS

The CCF believed that social change could be brought about only through popular support, as indicated at the time of a general election. In order to educate the public about the merits of their policies, the CCF presented a general ideology for the development of Saskatchewan and discussed specific plans with the electorate, before implementing them. The goals of the CCF, as outlined in the Regina Manifesto, were for the development of a socialist Canada and as a provincial government the CCF never had the power to implement many of these policies. Generally, the problems encountered are not the fault of particular CCF policies, but rather are intricately connected with the problem of bringing about social change through political action.

The CCF assumed that the ideology espoused in the Regina Manifesto would assist them to instigate social change because it gave them an overall sense of direction in the development of the province. They hoped a general statement

of CCF views on many issues would help educate the public about the general merits of socialism.

Secondly, they accepted the electoral system as a measure of popular support or disapproval for their policies. When the CCF received the endorsement from a majority of citizens, they attempted to implement their platform. However, at the same time, the CCF appreciated the rights of minorities and tried to incorporate their suggestions into their new policies. For example, when the CCF received electoral support from a majority of citizens but not from a majority of doctors who were obliged to practice under the medical health care program, the CCF modified their plans. Under the changed plan, doctors did not receive a salary but rather were paid according to the fee schedule that they suggested.⁶³

Generally, the CCF believed that they could educate their opponents about the merits of their social welfare plans. Despite some opposition, at first, against the CCF automobile and medical health insurance plans, the citizens seemed to accept such plans once they were implemented and the Liberal government did not revoke either of these programs.

However, the CCF government did not attempt to persuade the farmers about the merits of cooperative or state farming by introducing a policy to oblige them to consolidate their lands. The CCF assumed that the small

farmers would not support such a policy despite the fact that the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life predicted the demise of the small family farm.⁶⁴ Since the traditional support for the CCF came from the farmers, the CCF was hesitant to suggest to them that their way of farming was uneconomic and did not attempt to educate them to accept farming in cooperatives.

Since the CCF accepted the parliamentary system as the mechanism by which to bring about social change, they also accepted the restraint of governing for a four year period. All their programs for social change had to be completed within a four year period. Firstly, the government had to study the problem, then adapt a program suitable for the Saskatchewan environment and thirdly, rally the support of the electorate. Political expediency demanded tangible and publically visible results from the expenditure of public money. Thus, in the process of legislating social change, the CCF government had to contend with the demands for electoral support every four years and the shortness of time for effective planning.

The CCF hoped that if they were able to straddle both the demands for electoral support and the desires to implement aspects of the Regina Manifesto, they would be able to improve the quality of life in Saskatchewan. Thus, in order to remain in power, the CCF solicited the support of prosperous farmers and provided some employment opportunities by

attracting new industries. Both the prosperous farmers and the industrialists willing to locate in the province accepted policies which would improve the welfare of all citizens, for example, medicare and auto insurance, transportation, education and communication systems. However, they did not welcome policies which would bring about a more equal distribution of the wealth of the province at their own expense.

From the above review, we can conclude the following: When community development process has to adopt a strategy of bringing about social change dependent on electoral support, measured every four years, long range planning will be foresaken. Short term goals which satisfy immediate needs and demands of the electorate will take precedence over long range programs demanding present day sacrifice in return for distant and perhaps nebulous benefits.

SUMMARY

The history of the CCF in Saskatchewan has many of the qualities of the community development process. Firstly, they were able to achieve some improvements in the economic and social conditions of the residents. Secondly, they gained electoral support for their program and were able to integrate the middle class citizens into the process of building up the province. Thirdly, their example of social policies did educate many Canadians about progressive

legislation that could be enacted to improve the welfare of all citizens.

Through their well organized political structure, the CCF was able to gather the opinions of a large number of citizens. The active supporters of the CCF who were often already leaders in community organizations knew intimately the problems of the rural community. Since many of these leaders were schooled in socialist thought from their experiences outside the CCF, they readily criticized the CCF cabinet ministers if they felt government policies were not meeting the needs of the community.

Other organizations where the CCF learnt about popular reaction to their programs were the Annual Convention of all party members and the Provincial Council. In both these structures, CCF members presented their ideas to the cabinet ministers. Since many of the participants at these meetings were well educated, they obliged the Members of Parliament to develop carefully thought out strategies for the future of Saskatchewan. As a result of the party organization, the CCF government was able to maintain close contact with the developments throughout the province.

Those residents who did not choose to join the CCF party still had opportunities to participate in the building of the province. Some became civil servants and others advanced the cooperative movement, both of which were important components of the CCF policy to instigate social

change. As with all programs reviewed in this thesis, the CCF was unable to obtain widespread involvement from the poorest citizens. However, to an extent greater than other Provincial Governments of its time, the CCF did integrate the citizens with the governmental authorities in the building of the province.

The quality of life for all citizens was improved by social programs such as auto and medical health care insurance, education and communication systems. During the period between 1944-64 when the CCF was in office, some industries providing employment opportunities located in Saskatchewan and the income of prosperous farmers increased. In general, we can conclude that the CCF was able to improve the quality of social life and to a much more limited extent to improve the economic opportunities available in the province.

From the community development perspective, a serious failing of the CCF was its inability to lessen the poverty of the province. The CCF did not educate the poor farmers so that they were willing to consolidate their land. Instead either by default or as the result of a latent policy, the CCF permitted the small farmers to continue their individualistic method of farming until they were so poor that they were obliged to sell the farm to agri-businesses.

The CCF government also encountered problems from the limitations of short term planning. Despite the fact that

they were in power for twenty years consecutively, every four years the CCF government had to solicit support before it could continue its program. As a result, the CCF government was unable to undertake programs which could not produce tangible results within a four year period.

In terms of contributing to a greater understanding of the community development process, the CCF case raises two questions: The first is the same as that arising from the DREE program, that is, does industrialization of an agricultural region improve the quality of life available to each individual living in the area? Given present trends in North America, are there in fact other alternatives for providing more economic and social opportunities in a poor area?

Secondly, the CCF assumed that the party could instigate social change through winning electoral support. At times, the residents became polarized along partisan lines over CCF policy. When such divisions did occur, one wonders if the effectiveness of the CCF party as a social change agent was not severely limited.

FOOTNOTES

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³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

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¹³Walter D. Young, The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF 1932-61, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1969.

¹⁴George H. Hindley, "The Socialist Alternative," The Commonwealth, March 15, 1972, p. 6.

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¹⁶Walter D. Young, op. cit.

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- ¹⁹Martin Seymour Lipset, Agrarian Socialism: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan: A Study in Political Sociology, Anchor Books, Garden City, New York, 1968, chapter 7.
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- ²¹S. M. Lipset, op. cit., p. 274.
- ²²C. B. Higginbotham, op. cit., p. 89
- ²³Ibid., p. 85.
- ²⁴Ibid., p. 65.
- ²⁵Peter Gzowski, "A Report from Saskatchewan: Canada's Changing Heartland; After Twenty Years a look at How Saskatchewan's Socialism has Affected all Canada," MacLean's Magazine, July 25, 1964, p. 10.
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- ³⁰Walter P. Thompson, Medical Care; Programs and Issues, Clark, Irwin and Company Ltd., Toronto, 1964, p. 56-58.
- ³¹Ibid., p. 62.
- ³²Jane Abramson, Adjustments Associated With Migration from Farm Operator to Urban Wage Earner, Canadian Centre for Community Studies, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 1966, preface.
- ³³Statement by Arthur K. Davies, interview, Department of Sociology, University of Alberta, Edmonton, May 24, 1973.
- ³⁴S.M. Lipset, op. cit., p. 256.
- ³⁵Ibid., p. 258.
- ³⁶Ibid., p. 382.

- ³⁷Ibid., p. 245.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 375.
- ³⁹Ibid., Chapter 12.
- ⁴⁰Peter Gzowski, op. cit., p. 26.
- ⁴¹S. M. Lipset, op. cit., p. 283.
- ⁴²Ibid., p. 354-61.
- ⁴³Ibid., p. 253.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., p. 356.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., p. 275.
- ⁴⁶Ibid., p. 274.
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- ⁴⁹Robert Tyre, Douglas in Saskatchewan: The Story of a Socialist Experiment, Mitchell Press, Vancouver, 1962, p. 45-52.
- ⁵⁰Ibid.
- ⁵¹C. B. Higginbotham, op. cit.
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- ⁵⁶Richard A. Lester, Labour and Industrial Relations: A General Analysis, MacMillan Company, New York, 1954, p. 152.
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- ⁵⁹H. D. Woods and Sylvia Ostry, op. cit., p. 172.

⁶⁰Robert Tyre, op. cit., p. 167.

⁶¹Arthur K. Davis, "Prairie Dust Devil; The Rise and Decline of a Research Institute," Human Organization, Vol. 27, No. 1 Spring 1968, p. 57-8.

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⁶⁴Supra., p. 125

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY

Introduction

In this thesis, the United Nation's definition of community development was used as a base upon which to study the process of community development. In this definition, three aspects of community development are outlined. One is the improvement in the economic, social and cultural life of a community. Another is the involvement of the local people in the creation and development of the plan. Lastly is the community's ability to integrate into the national trends and to contribute to the national progress.

As outlined above, the community development process is wide ranging and may affect all aspects of the community and the life styles of the individuals involved. The examples of community development programs discussed in this thesis have been unable to accomplish all the goals of a community development process. A study of their weaknesses and strengths should prove instructive in the course of coming to a greater understanding of the process of community development.

In the first section of this summary, I review the essential aspects of three levels of community development examined in this thesis. Next, I examine the common aspects of all these programs and later I review possible remedies to these problems, and raise some questions about

the overall nature of community development.

Economic Development

DREE programs were chosen as the example of community development projects which were established to improve the economic base of communities that presently have a standard of living lower than the average in Canada. The Provincial and Federal Governments decide that certain geographical areas need special assistance to become economically prosperous and that the best way to overcome the present poverty is to attract private enterprise to locate in these regions.

A major interest of private enterprise is to establish profitable production operations. Therefore, priority will be given to the most efficient means of production, in many cases available only with automation and highly skilled workmen. Secondly, in order for a heretofore unindustrialized district to merit the attention of private enterprise, the Federal and Provincial Governments must be willing to provide adequate infrastructure in the towns.

In contrast to the largely financial interests of private enterprise, the community development process centres around concerns for people. Therefore, in the case of the DREE programs, the Provincial Government undertook to educate the residents of the selected area so that they could take advantage of the new opportunities resulting from the location of new industries in their area.

For a variety of reasons, the local residents may

not be adequately trained by the time the industries are ready for operation. If this is the case, industry will hire experts from outside the region and the residents will benefit from the program in terms of new infrastructure but not from the new employment possibilities.

Programs such as DREE are victims of the private enterprise economy. Fluctuations on the world market, the price of gold, the expected level of consumer demand and the balance of trade all affect a decision by a company about investing in previously untried areas. If companies decide against locating in particular regions, the costly investments for infrastructure will not have served their purpose. There will be no increase in employment opportunities.

One of the weaknesses of DREE programs is its lack of built-in mechanisms for assessing its progress. As a consequence, there is a possibility of spending huge sums of money without providing necessary permanent employment in the region. The programs are designed on the basis of studies undertaken by experts on the potential of an area. The local residents receive the outcome of these decisions with little opportunity either to comment directly on the plan or to adjust the policies in light of new understandings. Since these programs have very limited means to revise their original plans, decisions made five years earlier about an area determine the course of present events, despite changes in the environment or new factors which become apparent as a result of implementing the program.

The community development concept of the DREE programs is that people need work if they are to be recognized as contributing members of society. While in practice the DREE programs have failed to provide much employment, let alone opportunities for creative self-expression through work, the concept that people need work shows a fundamental understanding of human nature. Work need not be defined in terms of the Puritan ethic of self-denial and drudgery. Instead, work can involve the individual's ingenuity to create new objects and social situations.

While the routine factory employment associated with the industries that take advantage of a DREE program is unlikely to provide fulfillment in one's life, other methods of economic development, following community development concepts do exist. For example, Coady, during the 1930's, was able to organize Maritime fishermen and coal miners. Through the formation of their own cooperatives, the fishermen were able first to ensure more profits from their catch and secondly, to educate themselves about methods of community organizing so that they could establish cooperatives in other aspects of their daily lives, notably consumers' retail cooperatives and credit unions.

Coady describes the purpose behind building cooperatives in the following poetic terms:

We want our men to look into the sun and into the depths of the sea. We want them to explore the hearts of flowers and the hearts of fellow men. We want them to live, to love, to play and pray with all their being.

We want them to be men, whole men, eager to explore all avenues of life and to attain perfection in all their faculties. We want for them the capacity to enjoy all that a generous God and creative men have placed at their disposal. We desire above all that they will discover and develop their own capacities for creation. It is good to appreciate; it is godlike to create. Life for them shall not be in terms of merchandising but in terms of all that is good and beautiful be it economic, political, social, cultural or spiritual. They are the heirs of all ages and of all the riches yet concealed. All the findings of science and philosophy are theirs. All the creations of art and literature are for them. If they are wise they will create the instruments to obtain them. They will usher in the new day by attending to the blessings of the old. They¹ will use what they have to secure what they have not.

Social Development

Programs designed to humanize the environment were studied in this thesis as a means to grapple with the social level of community development. In these programs every attempt is made to help individuals gain the self-confidence necessary to gain a measure of control over the environment. In order to introduce the poor to a setting which can accommodate individual differences, members of the middle class provide needed services for the poor of a community. The aim of providing these services is to give the poor individual attention and alternatives to choose from in the course of his daily life. For example, instead of going to jail, a woman can participate in a community corrections program. The desire of these programs is not to oblige an individual to follow a particular course of life but rather to give him the support he needs to determine the purpose of his own life.

Improvements in the quality of life and in one's self-concept which these programs to humanize the environment aim to create are extremely difficult to evaluate. While economic opportunities can be measured in terms of increases in material goods, change in the quality of life and opportunities for self-actualizing are intangible. While most community development workers acknowledge their importance in human development, each course of action to implement such changes requires a moral judgement.

A dilemma arises when one attempts to evaluate these moral judgements. On the one hand, the services offered the poor do palliate the misery of their condition. On the other hand, the poor so obviously require more than a humanized environment; they need opportunities for gainful employment, adequate housing, and appropriate education. Questions such as the following arise: Should the time spent on individual clients which brings very short term happiness instead be invested in creating long term opportunities to overcome poverty? What is the value of concentrating on long range planning if the immediate needs of the suffering individuals are so overwhelming? Whichever course of action one chooses involves moral judgements.

The programs reviewed in the section on Social Aspects, Edmonton Social Planning Council, West 10 Pilot Project, Company of Young Canadians and Preventive Social Services, oscillate between providing an immediate service

for the poor and educating them to arrange for their own needs in the future. In theory, the community development workers in these programs realize the need to teach the poor methods of community organizing. In an effort to accomplish these aims, the Boyle Street Community Services Cooperative has hired indigenous workers to introduce the program into the area and has elected members from the community to the Board of Directors.

However, the community development workers' experience in working with the poor makes them aware of the desperate need for flexible and imaginative services. Also, granting bodies for these community development projects are interested in tangible results. The education of the poor to take responsibility for their own needs is an aspect of a long term process. Thus social development projects tend to concentrate on providing services for the poor. For example, in the case of the West 10 Pilot Project, the social development component of the program is flourishing while the community development sector is struggling to become established within the community.

Another severe limitation of projects designed to humanize the environment is the fact that they have no control over the economic and political status of an individual. An individual community development worker might be able to assist a person build up his feelings of pride and self-confidence and through his personal contacts, the community development worker might be able to make special arrangements

for a few of his clients to procure better housing or employment. Nevertheless, he will not be able to supply the needs of all his clients. Once the others leave his friendly office, they will return to a society which has chastised them for being poor, unemployed welfare recipients and so on.

If the social development programs worked to gain a measure of control over the economic environment of the poor, then they could initiate some steps toward ending poverty. For example, if the women who use the Women's Overnight Shelter could be offered gainful employment, then they would have more options for their lives. To choose a strategy which would attempt to limit the discrepancies between the economic opportunities for the rich and the poor would involve the formation of an ideology. In an attempt to emphasize their concern for all individuals, programs to humanize the environment avoid a strategy which would alienate some members of the community. However, without an ideology these programs lack a sense of direction which would permit them to plan for an ultimate end to poverty.

Social development programs make a valuable contribution to the understanding of a community development process. Through their many projects to help individuals, these community development workers have gained insight into the needs of individuals for feelings of acceptance and self-worth, and secondly into the personal problems that the poor face. Ultimately, the purpose of a community development

project must be to serve the welfare of individuals who comprise the nation. In an environment where individuals are happy and self-actualizing, they will want to contribute to the national progress.

Political Development

Political parties, like the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), which present a community development approach to the electorate, propose to bring about social change through integrated development programs designed by the government. The ultimate aim of the CCF government was to make possible, through the creation of a planned social order, the most efficient development of the natural resources and the equitable distribution of income, as this was deemed the way to improve the quality of life.

As part of an overall program to improve the quality of life throughout the province, the CCF government concentrated on an integrated and comprehensive approach to the problems of rural Saskatchewan. The policies to distribute gas and electricity to the rural areas, to build composite high schools throughout the province, to construct extensive road systems, to provide incentives for doctors to locate in rural areas, and to support the cooperative movement were all designed to improve the social and economic aspects of community life throughout all Saskatchewan. Other legislation such as the establishment of the Centre for Community Studies, the passage of the Trades Union Act, and the

development of education programs for communities increased the opportunities for citizens to discuss the present problems and future development of the province.

The second aspect of the community development process is the combination of the efforts of the people themselves with those of the government authorities. To an extent greater than other political parties, although to a limited extent by comparison with potential involvement, the CCF government was able to solicit the involvement of the citizens. However, their most active supporters were the prosperous farmers, and not the poor.

Those who were leaders in their communities had many opportunities to take part in general programs to advance the progress of the province. Some took advantage of career possibilities in the civil service; others became involved in expanding the cooperative movement; and others became active party members. The party members of the CCF potentially had as much influence on the course of political developments, as did the Members of Parliament. All CCF delegates to the Annual Convention were entitled to present resolutions which, if adopted by the convention, could become part of government policy. However, as the cabinet ministers became more experienced, they were able to defeat motions presented by the delegates which they felt were not feasible for the government to undertake at that time.

The CCF government was unable to redistribute the

wealth of the province so as to minimize the discrepancy between the rich and the poor citizens. Part of the reason for this failure may be a reflection of the limitations a province faces in trying to build socialism in the middle of a capitalist North America. Another may be the shortness of five years in terms of plans to revamp the economic foundation of the country. Lastly, some of the CCF politicians wanted to maintain the electoral support of the wealthier citizens who were unwilling to witness a more equal distribution of wealth at their own expense. Thus, CCF policies were limited to improving the quality of life through educational, medical care, automobile insurance and transportation programs. In the field of social development, they set a model for all Canada.

A study of the CCF can contribute to an understanding of the community development process. The CCF party chose to implement a community development program through political action. The citizens voted on the general policies for the development of their province. Secondly, albeit limited to the more prosperous citizens, Saskatchewan is the only example in this thesis where the residents themselves decided to tackle problems of poverty in their area. They chose to form a political party as the most effective way of bringing about the changes they wished to see in their province. Through a coordinated government program, the CCF was able to improve the social aspects of life in Saskatchewan. As

with all the other examples explored in this thesis, the CCF too, was unable to develop a total community development process.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

In this section, I attempt to answer some of the questions posed in Chapter 1, "Description of Community Development," in the light of my evaluation of the three levels of community development process reviewed in this thesis. The strategy chosen by each of these programs reflects a different concept about the rights of individuals and the nature of man, even though the programs all aspire to improve the quality of life in a community and to involve the local citizens. By exploring the strengths and weaknesses of each decision made in the process of implementing social change through a community development process, the possible consequences of one approach chosen over other alternatives can be reviewed.

Rights of Individuals

One major area of concern in all the community development programs examined in this thesis is the right of the individual to live his life as much as possible as he wishes. The DREE programs assume that no one chooses to be poor and that many of the poor need to be shown a way out of their poverty. Accordingly, these programs analyze the economic base of a region and decide to attract industry and the residents have no choice but to acclimatize to the new

developments or else to leave their home, because at no time are they directly involved in determining the best strategy chosen to improve the quality of life in their region.

The CCF government contacted the residents about general policies through the election mechanism of parliamentary government. During the time of an election, the citizens had the opportunity to support the candidates espousing a CCF platform or those advocating the policies of the Liberal party. Once the CCF party had won a majority in the legislature, the public had limited means of forcing the government to change its policies. For example, despite the protests of a well organized minority, the government chose to implement its medicare plan. Such a decision may seem to reflect paternalism as far as the minority are concerned, suggesting that the CCF party had more wisdom than the protesters in assessing the merits of the program. In this case, the results of the party's determination to educate the public, through implementing the plan, about the benefits of a medicare system, confirmed the validity of the party's original decision.

Programs to humanize the environment try to consult the poor for their ideas about the needs of their community. Where possible, the poor are directly involved in the development of the program. Within the limitations imposed by existing social systems in catering to the immediate needs

of the poor, programs to humanize the environment do provide opportunities for the poor to make small choices about their immediate future. No explicit attempt is made to force an individual to change his life style in order to receive the benefits of the newly established programs.

Services

In all the programs reviewed in this thesis, the local residents have been recipients, to a greater or lesser degree, of services provided by the middle class to lessen the blight of poverty. The poor have never had the positions of leadership in designing the programs and instead have used the services provided. Since this is the case, a pertinent question is why have the poor had such a limited role in so many community development programs? Part of the answer to this question lies in the affect of poverty on an individual. However, equally restricting is the framework of the community development programs studied in this thesis.

Bragha states clearly that the poor are simply unable to provide for their own needs and therefore require other members of society to build a comfortable environment for them.² Other writers attempt to explain the attitudes of the poor as a reflection of the culture of poverty. These authors review items such as an unstable family structure, desire for immediate gratification, chronic unemployment, and a different language structure and consider these situations as detrimental to success in a highly organized

and technological society.³ Without a background in adequate housing, clothing, shelter and education, the poor person more than a middle class person, has much to learn about the skills of initiating, administering and developing social development plans.

The community development programs reviewed in this thesis attempt to overcome the shortage of qualified poor personnel by providing the leadership themselves. Limitations of time and resources restrict the effectiveness of these programs in educating the poor to organize themselves. Instead, these projects provide needed services efficiently and quickly.

For example, economic development projects did provide some employment and training opportunities and they did build roads, schools, sewage and water systems for all to enjoy in the regions that were designated as special. The procedure of importing private enterprise to the region was much quicker than that of building a cooperative movement among the poor. Similarly, social development oriented projects offered the poor personalized welfare services. To educate the poor to administer their own welfare system would require a much greater period of time. Lastly, the CCF provided, for the residents of Saskatchewan, a large number of services such as medicare, auto insurance, a better education system, gas and electricity in the distant rural areas and some employment opportunities. Here again, the

CCF party pretty much determined the priorities of the province and the citizens had the choice of rejecting or accepting these guidelines only at the time of an election. They had a very limited role in developing these plans.

Definitely within a capitalist society, many programs can be established to improve the quality of life. More economic and social opportunities can be provided without challenging the basic capitalist foundation of society and without overcoming the discrepancies between the wealthy and the poor. All the programs examined in this thesis are able to provide limited improvements without revamping the structure of society. However, the decision to provide services to the poor rather than to educate the poor to organize for their own needs limits the opportunities for the poor to learn the skills of leadership, an important component of the community development process.

Part of the reason for placing priority on efficient provision of services lies with the desire to produce tangible results. Theoretically, from the completion of a successful pilot project a model of certain aspects of the community development process will be built. Processes such as the education of local people are costly and time consuming. These people must be allowed time to make mistakes as they acquire the skills of community organizing. Years may pass before an outsider can identify the change in community life as a result of the education process. At

present, funds for a community development project are limited usually to a three year period. Even if these grants are renewable, the community development worker must prove his success and the likelihood of better results from a longer time period. As a result of the short time period, community development workers can produce more concrete results from improving the services in a community than from educating the public.

Possibly, the funders are hesitant to encourage total involvement and education of the local people. Once these people do learn how to organize themselves, they may use their new skill to protest many aspects of present day society. They may be able to organize to limit or even to end the discrepancies in opportunities for different segments of the population. If such a time ever did arise, then surely the foundations of our society would be changed dramatically.

A second problem which limits the success of the community development projects in Canada is their lack of a comprehensive program. For example, the programs to rationalize the economy of a depressed region do make some provisions for the social needs of man but they concentrate on the economic man. The programs to humanize the environment cater to the individual and social needs of people, but they have been unable to provide economic support concomitantly. The programs initiated by the CCF in Saskatchewan

attempted to develop comprehensive plans for the development of the province. However, the government lacks sufficient funds to implement a comprehensive program.

Strategy for Change

The community development process, according to the United Nation's definition, involves economic, social and cultural levels of change in a community. The process attempts to deal with the total man, the economic man, the spiritual man, the social man and the political man. In order for people to contribute to the building of the nation, two requirements must be fulfilled. Firstly, people must have sufficient income to provide for needs in housing, food, clothing, education, travel, entertainment and so on, so that they can concentrate on intellectual and social issues, both of the community and the nation. Secondly, they need the information, education and determination necessary to understand the issues and then to take action upon their decision.

Warren suggests that ultimately two alternatives exist in the course of creating a community development program. To review, one may follow a "love line" which Warren describes in the following terms: "a commitment to the infinite value of each human being" and a consideration of human beings as ends, rather than means.⁴ Or one may follow the "truth line" which Warren analyzes in the following terms:

"somehow we represent the fundamental order of things in calling for changes that we propose to bring in the social order."⁵ If community development workers adopt the "truth line," Warren suggests that they claim a certain philosophy or life style is correct and that eventually all participants in the project must be converted. According to Warren, the dichotomy between either the "love line" or the "truth line" is impossible to bridge.

From the examples in this thesis, it appears that Warren's dichotomy is an accurate description of community development. The DREE programs follow the "truth line" and claim to have the most suitable program for the economic development of a depressed region. Residents are not directly involved in the planning process but rather obliged to acclimatize to the environment. Similarly, once the citizens of Saskatchewan had elected a CCF government, they followed what the CCF determined as the most feasible strategy by which to improve the quality of life. In contrast, the programs to humanize the environment follow the "love line" and consider each individual as meriting consideration as a person and not according to his role in their scheme of improvement. In fact, these programs are hesitant to suggest the correct choice for another person and encourage him to devise his own strategy for development. However, none of the programs examined in this thesis, develop all aspects of community development, as outlined

in the United Nation's definition of community development.

If we review the examples of social change promoted by some of the renown leaders of social change, for example, Jesus, Mao Tse Tung, Lenin, and Buddha, it seems that this "dichotomy" proposed by Warren is reconcilable. For example, the history of Jesus is one of the well known cases where the "truth" and "love lines" were practised simultaneously. From what we know of Jesus, He claimed to know the truth and demanded that other people follow this truth. For Jesus, truth included love your neighbour as yourself. However, Jesus also acknowledged that to follow His commandment demanded much courage and conviction on the part of the individuals. Because He loved people, He forgave them when they failed to obey His truth and were willing to repent. Thus, at no time were people excluded from His presence because of their inadequacies. Nevertheless, people's failure to follow His truth did not discount its validity for Him. Thus He was willing to accept people with their human failings, that is follow the "love line," and at the same time He wanted them to follow His example, that is to follow the "truth line."

The example Jesus set can be considered one model of community development. Jesus was able to inspire twelve men to work with Him because He understood and accepted them as human beings. Through His intimate relationship with them, He helped these men and others build up their

feelings of self-confidence because they could believe His truth. His action inspired other people to consider new relations among men and presented alternatives to the Jewish community, which soon became polarized in its response to Jesus and His way of life. As a result of His teachings, many people, both in his own time and today, did dedicate and do dedicate themselves to improving the quality of life for their fellow man. As a model of community development, the approach of Jesus was to first serve the needs of any individuals who needed His help. Later He discussed with them His teachings and inspired some to find their own method of preaching His truth. Thus he combined the "truth" and "love lines."

Concept of Man

As a discipline, community development has not adopted any universal truth about the nature of man. The concept community development has been used to describe practices as diverse as advancing private enterprise as the means to improve the social and economic status of a community, as building socialism as the method of improving the quality of life in a nation, and as well, as providing medical or other services to individuals in a community. However, the choice of action taken in each program implies an assumed belief about the nature of man and his needs.

The economic aspect of community development as

designed by the DREE programs seem to endorse a concept of man that emphasizes his rationality. The assumption is that the poor person does want to escape his poverty but that he does not know how to do so. Therefore, DREE can offer him employment which will alleviate his poverty.

Ayn Rand suggests personal freedom is essential for man to reach his full potential and that capitalism, which the DREE programs support, is the only way man can have the freedom he needs.⁶ In many ways, the DREE program seems to support this concept for their help to an individual is pretty well limited to offering him employment opportunities. Any social improvements that he may wish to introduce into a community, he must do on his own.

The social development programs, examined in this thesis, argue a different concept of man. These programs seem based in the Christian ethic of love your neighbour as yourself. They assume that the poor have not had an opportunity to decide about the course and meaning of their lives. Therefore, they need a supportive environment where they can think about themselves and eventually choose a strategy that is meaningful for them. Any individual is entitled to support whenever and for whatever reasons he may desire it.

Lastly, the CCF endorses a socialist concept of man, that is, that each member of society should contribute to the best of his ability to the building of society and receive from that society according to his need.⁷ The

medicare program was an example of attempting to put such an approach into practice. At times, some members of the society are better able to devise a progressive plan for the development of that society than others.

The strategy a community development worker considers suitable for affecting change will follow from his concept of the nature of man. The programs espoused by DREE and the CCF conclude that one can affect social change by changing the environment of total communities. These programs tend to impose new conditions on the residents of a community. In contrast, programs designed to humanize the environment accept the idea that social change comes about by individual relationships where one person comes to know another as they both work out their own philosophies of life. These programs are in danger of losing a sense of direction and accordingly, their achievement tends to be short term. Secondly they lack the necessary political power to ensure that their programs do become universal and have continuity.

Integrated Approach

The dualism between a "truth" or "love" line strategy, proposed by Warren, or environment versus individual change or government leadership versus citizen determination of a project seems to arise from the time shortage that the programs examined in this thesis face. Obviously, social change involves a mixture of individual renewal and environmental transformations, of intense personal relationships

and an overall guideline for development and of the best leadership from the government and the citizens.

Joshua Horn in his study of China was impressed by a method of assisting prostitutes and this example might prove instructive in a general analysis of community development. The prostitutes were educated in special classrooms where they analyzed the reasons for their life style and also its affect on them. After these women had gained some insight into their own and others' problems, they were trained with skills useful to the commune. When they had adjusted adequately to their new life style, these women were placed in communes which required their assistance. At the same time, that the women were being re-educated, residents of the commune were informed about the problems that these women had learnt to overcome.⁸

In this example, the coordinated approach, the concern for the individuals involved and the provision of economic support for a newly learnt life style are important. Groups of women analyzed their own experiences and at the same time the members of the commune came to have an understanding of the problem of prostitution. Secondly, when the women had completed their training, they were able to procure work. Such a program was possible because the Chinese government was able to provide a comprehensive and integrated approach to the difficulties the prostitutes faced.

Conclusion

The United Nation's definition of community development emphasizes the need for an integrated approach. Within the scope of this definition, a concentration on individual relationships, development of economic resources of a single community, and political action to integrate the local people into the decision making process of the government are all possible focal points for bringing about improvements in the economic, social and cultural aspects of a community. However, in order for all these improvements to result from an impetus for social change in one aspect of community life, the community development program must be integrated.

In concluding, only nation wide governments have the potential power and resources to implement a total community development process. Individuals can influence government policy but as individuals they lack the required resources to satisfy the social hunger of some individuals and at the same time, provide opportunities for economic advancement, such as employment, and simultaneously foster improvements in the social environment of a community. A team approach offers the most opportunity to improve the social, economic and cultural life of a community and to offer opportunities for local involvement in the development of such a program. Only governments have the resources necessary to integrate a comprehensive approach to community development.

Needless to say, the thought that only national governments can provide the necessary support for the community development process is an issue of concern. Too many government leaders have exploited their position of power to suppress the initiative of their citizens and to divert the resources of the country for their own personal advancement. To judge whether or not a particular government merits the responsibility involved in sponsoring a total community development process, one must analyze its intent for the future of the nation and its relationship with the citizens. The outcome of this evaluation depends on one's moral judgement about the nature of man, his purpose in life and the government's role in furthering man's good.

Assuming that only governments do have the power necessary to implement a community development program, if they so desire, also implies that by nature, social changes as a result of community development programs are political. If we accept the following definition of politics: "politics includes the decision making and enforcement process in any organization", then community development process can be seen as political at all levels.⁹

At the level of community development which focuses on the relationships between individual members of a community, power relationships and decision making processes are involved. A person who has become self-reliant and mentally healthy, will tolerate no longer an environment

which is suppressive or individuals who are dictatorial and arbitrary, in their method of work in the community. When individuals who have gained a measure of self-confidence are ready to improve conditions in their environment, they will attempt to change the power relations in their community. Inevitably, the ideas, if not the leaders themselves will be changed as a result of the citizens' efforts.

Community development programs focusing on a particular improvement at a community level inevitably become political. Some citizens who oppose the innovations will conflict with those advocating the change. James Coleman has analyzed the partisan politics which result from a community conflict over matters which originally could be tallied on a factual basis.¹⁰

The political aspect of government involvement is clear. The government must in one way or another gain the recognition of the citizens by whatever mechanism it uses to have authority.

If a community development worker cannot support the ideology of the government, then he has no alternative but to initiate small piecemeal community development programs, which he hopes in a small way will improve the quality of life in a community. Such programs cannot hope to systematically improve the social, economic and cultural opportunities for the residents of the community and at the same time integrate the citizens into the general building of the

nation. However, the conglomeration of many small programs may prepare the citizens for a total community development program, should the opening arise at some point in the future.

FOOTNOTES

¹ M. M. Coady, Masters of Their Own Destiny: The Story of the Antigonish Movement of Adult Education Through Economic Cooperation, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939, p. 163.

² Supra., p. 103.

³ C. Bereiter & S. Engleman, Teaching Culturally Deprived Children in Pre-Schools, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1966.

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⁴ Roland L. Warren, Truth, Love and Social Change and Other Essays on Community Change, Rand McNally & Company Ltd., Chicago, 1971, p. 274.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ayn Rand, "What is Capitalism," The Objectivist Newsletter, November & December 1965, p. 3-27.

⁷ Karl Marx, Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, translated by T. B. Bottomore, McGraw-Hill Book Company, London, 1956, p. 258.

⁸ Joshua S. Horn, Away With All Pests; An English Surgeon in People's China, P. Hamlyn, London, 1969.

⁹ Austin Ranney, The Governing of Men, revised edition, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., New York, 1966, p. 5.

¹⁰ James S. Coleman, Community Conflict, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957.

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